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THE
HISTORY OF SPAIN,

FROM

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE
COLONY OF GADES BY THE PHŒNICIANS,

TO

THE DEATH OF FERDINAND,
SURNAMED THE SAGE.

BY THE AUTHOR OF

THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

IN THREE VOLS.—VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR C. AND C. KEARSLEY, FLEET-STREET.

1793.

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A FAINT dawn of hope might be excited in A. D. 1492. the mind of Ferdinand by the expedition of Columbus; but, from the splendid prospect of new and golden regions, his attention was soon recalled to the domestic cares of government; and to extend the regal authority, and diminish the influence of his nobles, were the immediate objects of his policy.

Above all the Barons of Europe, those of Spain were distinguished for independence of spirit and haughtiness of deportment: they had opposed with vigour and vigilance every measure of their kings which invaded their dignity, or tended to abridge their power. Even in their ordinary intercourse with their monarchs they preserved such a consciousness of their rank, that the nobles of the first order claimed it as a privilege.

lege to be covered in the royal presence, and approached their sovereigns rather as equals than as subjects. But Ferdinand had derived no inconsiderable accession of strength by uniting the grand masterships of St. James, Calatrava, and Alacantara, with the crown; his reputation had been established by the success of the Moorish war; and his plans were supported by a more ample revenue, and conducted with superior sagacity to those of his predecessors. The regulations that he ventured to introduce were gradual, and disguised beneath the plausible pretence of the public welfare: he might sometimes employ force, but it was more frequently in consequence of decrees obtained in the courts of law, that he wrested from his grantees a great part of the lands which had been granted them by the inconsiderate bounty of former monarchs, particularly during the feeble and profuse reign of his immediate predecessor Henry the Fourth. Each resumption was the source of some new intrigue, and each intrigue was punished by confiscation; illustrious Birth was no longer a claim to the conduct of public affairs; and the nobles, who had so long engrossed every public trust, beheld themselves by degrees excluded from the councils and confidence of their sovereign. The latter often transacted business of the greatest consequence without consulting them: he placed in stations of the highest

importance new men, solely attached to his interest : he introduced into his court a degree of state and dignity, before unknown : he taught his nobles to approach their sovereign with more ceremony : and by slow steps erected himself into the object of their respect and deference.

The regulations Ferdinand had established in his own kingdom enabled him to act with greater energy against his neighbours ; Louis the Eleventh was no more, and the sceptre of France had devolved on his son Charles the Eighth. That monarch, by his marriage with Anne, the daughter and heiress of the Duke of Brittany, had acquired an important addition to his dominions ; young and ardent, he was ambitious of the fame of a conqueror ; and Italy was the destined theatre of his martial enterprises ; he had cherished the claim of the house of Anjou to Naples, and he was invited to assert it in arms, by Ludovico Sforza, surnamed the Moor, who meditated the deposition of his nephew Galeazzo, and the usurpation of the duchy of Milan. So daring a crime, he was conscious, must excite against him a combination of the Italian powers, who would arm in support of the injured prince : to secure himself a protector amidst the general odium, he negociated with the King of France ; the integrity of Charles was not proof against the rich temptation ; he languished for trans-alpine conquests ;

conquests; and he was allured by the hopes of the kingdom of Naples to sanction the treason and support the traitor he must have abhorred.

To secure the neutrality of the other powers of Europe was the first object of the French councils: Maximilian King of the Romans, who had been the rival of Charles for the hand of Anne of Brittany, was gratified by the cession of part of Artois: Henry the Seventh, who, after a long series of unnatural murders and bloody revolutions, had seated himself on the throne of England, and by his marriage united the Houses of York and Lancaster, was the slave of avarice; and the sum of seven hundred and forty-five thousand crowns purchased his acquiescence.—The demands of Ferdinand were not so easily satisfied; the injustice with which Roussillon and Cerdagne had been detained by France were deeply impressed on his mind; and he was intent on improving the first favourable opportunity to recover them; but cautious and crafty, he preferred the arts of negotiation to arms; he intrigued with Henry and Maximilian; alarmed the court of France by his hostile preparations; and, without drawing his sword, obtained what he could scarce have expected from a bloody and expensive war; Roussillon and Cerdagne were restored; and Ferdinand entered Perpignan in triumph.

These important concessions had been made by Charles with a view of new acquisitions, and the hope of distant but splendid conquests. Fond of pleasure, but easily inflamed with the love of glory, he alternately sacrificed to both. He quitted the delights of Paris to display his valour in the field; and accompanied by the chivalry of France, and at the head of twenty thousand soldiers who participated the ardour of their royal leader, he traversed the Alps and Apennines; snatched a short repose at Turin; and at Vigavano conferred with Ludovico Sforza, who had usurped the duchy of Milan; and who relieved the distress, and confirmed his alliance with the French, by the opportune supply of a considerable sum of money.

Regardless of the rigour of the season, Charles pursued, through the depth of the winter, his rapid and victorious course from the banks of the Tessin towards Naples. The Italians, long undisturbed by any foreign invasion, presumed not to oppose his progress. The valour of the French appeared irresistible, and the sole obstacles they encountered were those of nature. The Florentines, who still aspired to freedom, on the approach of Charles, expelled Pietro de Medicis, and received the King of France in triumph. Clad in complete armour, mounted on horseback, his lance couched, and his vizor lowered, he entered Florence

rence

rence as a conqueror. Pisa and Sienna hailed him as their deliverer. His most implacable adversary Pope Alexander the Sixth listened to the tidings of his success with terror; he hastily retired to the Castle of St. Angelo, and commanded the gates of the city to be thrown open to the victor; but Charles rejected the counsels of his courtiers, who advised him to depose the turbulent Alexander, and fill the Apostolic chair with a more holy successor; and, after extorting from the Roman pontiff a solemn investiture of Naples, and his natural son Cæsar Borgia as an hostage for his sincerity, the King of France continued his triumphant march.

The very news of his preparations had diffused consternation throughout Naples; and, if we may credit the historians of the age, the panic was immediately fatal to the life of Ferdinand: he was succeeded by his son Alfonso, who in former difficulties, had merited the character of an active and warlike, though tyrannic, prince; he now for ever stained his reputation by the most base and unmanly desertion of the duties of a sovereign. While the French were yet at the distance of sixty leagues, he resigned his sceptre to his son Ferdinand the Second, and embarked for Messina, where he soon after ended his days in a convent. With greater constancy than his father, Ferdinand braved the dangers which impend-

ded over him ; he boldly opposed himself to the torrent, was defeated in battle, and compelled to fly for safety to the neighbouring Isle of Ischia, Naples instantly submitted to the victor ; and, of the whole kingdom, Brindisi, Reggio, and Gallipoli, alone withstood his arms.

The splendid and rapid progress of Charles had awakened the jealousy of the King of Spain ; he was sensible that a youthful conqueror, whose presumption was inflamed by the facility with which he had over-run the Italian states, would not long acquiesce under the restitution of Roussillon and Cerdagne ; and he was conscious that the latter would be best defended by re-kindling the flames of war in Italy. He easily revived the resentments of Maximilian : he was readily joined by Sforza, who was enraged at an attempt that had been made by the Duke of Orleans on the city of Novara ; and Alexander the Sixth, and the republic of Venice acceded with alacrity to a league which professed to maintain the independence of Italy. While Charles wasted the hours at Naples in feasts and tournaments, or fondly meditated the attack of Constantinople, and the subversion of the Ottoman empire, his pleasures and visionary trophies were clouded by the unexpected intelligence of the confederacy that had been formed against him. An hasty retreat was all that remained, and even that seemed intercepted

ted by an Italian army of thirty thousand men, which had been assembled with diligence and silence: with scarce nine thousand veterans the King of France traversed the Alps, while the allies declined engaging in those mountains, and awaited him in an open plain, near the village of Fornova, at a small distance from Placentia. The courage of the French inflamed by the presence and example of their prince, burst through every obstacle; Charles was the first who charged the enemy; in the action he was exposed to imminent danger, and extricated himself by his personal valour, and the goodness of his horse. The Italians fled before the ardour of the youthful monarch, whose inferior numbers allowed him not to improve his victory, and who was content to reach in security his own dominions.

On the retreat of Charles, the fugitive Ferdinand abandoned the rock of Ischia, and unfurled again his standard in Naples; he was supported by the troops of Spain commanded by Gonsalvo de Cordova, whose skill in war justly entitled him to the surname of the Great Captain; yet his first enterprise in Italy was far from auspicious of his future glory; and, in an attempt to relieve Seminera, he was encountered and defeated by a detachment of the French under the Constable d'Aubigne; the valour of the victors was only productive of empty laurels; the army of Gonsalvo was joined by
fresh

fresh reinforcements from Spain; he resumed his ascendancy in Calabria, while Ferdinand was admitted into his former capital of Naples, and pressed the citadel, which was defended by a French garrison under the Duke de Montpensier; the resistance of the latter was gallant, but ineffectual; famine obliged him to capitulate; Capua, Aversa, and Otranto, followed the example of Naples, and returned to their allegiance; yet Ferdinand was not permitted to behold the complete recovery of his dominions; disease arrested the career of his prosperity; he expired after a short illness; and was succeeded by his uncle Frederic, who, in a tide of uninterrupted success, swept away the few remaining garrisons of France which had escaped the arms of his predecessor.

The same success that attended the banners of Spain in Calabria, accompanied them not every where. An attempt to penetrate on the side of Roussillon into France was repulsed, and the Spaniards were compelled to retreat with disgrace; but, though the junction of sixteen thousand Swiss had enabled Charles to dictate the terms of peace to Sforza, he found himself unequal to the immediate renewal of the war in Italy; the exhausted strength of his subjects demanded some repose; his own ardour yielded to their weakness; he consented to propose a truce, which was readily accepted by Ferdinand, but was limited to a year,
and

and that was assiduously employed in preparations to refresh his Italian laurels.

During the suspension of hostilities with France, Ferdinand did not suffer his subjects to indulge in indolence; he was well aware that the haughty spirits of the Nobles required action, and that the duties of a camp were most likely to accustom them to prompt obedience: the Moors had been expelled from Spain, but from the opposite coast of Africa the ensigns of Mahomet seemed to insult the forbearance of the Christians: after a long war between the Kings of Fez and Tremeczen for the city of Melilla, they had mutually agreed to withdraw the inhabitants, and to leave it the desolate boundary of their respective territories. The moment of enterprise did not escape the vigilance of Ferdinand; five thousand select troops were silently embarked under the conduct of the Duke de Medina Sidonia; they landed unobserved on the African shore; entered Melilla, and soon secured it by their skill and labour against the desultory attacks of the infidels.

It was at this juncture when the sagacity of Ferdinand had rapidly advanced the glory of Spain, that the Roman pontiff was desirous of testifying his regard to a prince, who had asserted the independence of Italy, and delivered the Roman see from the control of France. The title of *Christian*

tian Majesty had been prostituted to the crafty and sanguinary Louis the Eleventh by the predecessors of Alexander the Sixth ; and the latter might with greater justice impart the distinction of *Catholic* to a Monarch under whose reign the disciples of Mahomet had been expelled from Spain : Ferdinand accepted the sacred mark of pontifical approbation, and transmitted it to his successors ; yet it is probable that his measures were but little influenced by religion ; and the persecution of the Jews affords the single instance in which the wary politician seems to have betrayed the principles of a narrow bigot.

But the domestic felicity of Ferdinand and Isabella kept not pace with the public prosperity : their eldest daughter, of the same name with her mother, after being married to the heir of the crown of Portugal, returned soon a widow to her father's court : she was reluctantly prevailed upon to plight her faith at the altar a second time, and with the hand of Emanuel, the kinsman of her late consort, she received the crown of Portugal. But the mirth of the nuptial feast was interrupted by the melancholy tidings of the premature death of the Prince of Asturias, the only son of the King and Queen of Spain, and whose opening virtues afforded the fairest prospect of future happiness to his country : the tears of his parents were scarcely suspended, when they were called forth again by the untimely fate of the
Queen

Queen of Portugal, who expired in child-birth at Toledo : she left a feeble infant, of the name of Michael, born only to swell the long list of domestic calamities, and whose decease a few months after devolved the succession to the crowns of Castille and Arragon on his aunt Joanna, who had lately espoused the Archduke Philip, son to Maximilian the Emperor of Germany.

It was to the peculiar vengeance of heaven that the superstition of the age ascribed the deaths which had involved in continual mourning the house of Ferdinand ; nor were a credulous people long fruitlessly employed in tracing in the counsels of that monarch the guilt which had exposed him to the divine indignation : Charles the Eighth, while he yet meditated a second irruption into Italy, had expired at Amboise ; and Louis the Twelfth, who with his crown inherited in part his designs, had entered the Milanese, and stripped the treacherous Sforza of his dominions. The rapid success with which he had terminated one expedition inflamed him with the desire of embarking in another ; the opulence and weakness of the kingdom of Naples tempted his ambition ; he negotiated a secret league with Ferdinand ; and the division of Naples was the object of their confederacy. The Roman pontiff fortified by his name the unjust enterprise ; but his holy sanction could not reconcile it to the multitude :

tude : the generous Spaniards execrated the baseness of their sovereign, and beheld the hand of heaven in the untimely destruction of his race ; yet the event of the war seemed to justify the measures of Ferdinand, and the consummate skill and address of the Great Captain soon reduced the provinces of Apulia and Calabria which had been allotted to Spain. Tarento alone presumed to oppose his victorious career : confiding in the strength of their walls the inhabitants were still farther animated by the presence of the eldest son of their sovereign, who had fixed his last retreat amongst them ; but the count of Potenza, and Lionardo, a knight of Rhodes, to whose care the royal youth was entrusted, despairing of succour, consented to surrender Tarento if they were not relieved within four months : they demanded an oath, however, that the prince should be left at perfect liberty ; and Gonsalvo, whose military fame is stained by the basest treachery and perfidy, readily complied ; he swore on a consecrated host, and was admitted into Tarento ; but he openly violated the sacred obligation, and hesitated not to detain the prince as his prisoner ; as such he was conveyed to Spain, and, though treated with lenity, was for fifty years the captive of that court, till death extinguished in him the Arragonese line of Neapolitan Kings.

Frederic

Frederic himself, equally pusillanimous, or more unfortunate than his predecessors, had, on the first sound of the trumpet, renounced the garb of royalty, and sought a transient shelter on the rock of Ischia, which had so often proved the asylum of his race; it was there he received the ungrateful intelligence of the submission of Tarento, and the captivity of his son. Abandoned by his own subjects, and betrayed by the King of Spain, on whom he had relied, he preferred an open and generous enemy to a perfidious ally. He demanded a safe conduct into France, and threw himself on the well-known lenity of Louis; from the liberality of that monarch he obtained an honourable retreat in the dutchy of Anjou, with an annual stipend of thirty thousand crowns, which was continued to him by Louis long after the French were dispossessed of their Neapolitan conquests.

It was not alone his new acquisitions beyond the Mediterranean that exercised the vigilance of Ferdinand; Spain herself frequented his unremitting attention; the wealth of the Moors was incapable of satisfying the avarice of their governors, and despair induced the former to erect the standard of revolt in the mountains of Alpuxarros; in the name of Mahomet they invoked the assistance of their African brethren; but, while their eyes were anxiously fixed on the coast of Barbary, they were

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surprised

surprised by the appearance of Ferdinand, whose toilsome march had been silently conducted through a country deemed impracticable, and who suddenly stood in arms before his rebellious subjects. The former was desirous of avoiding the effusion of blood, the latter were incapable of effectual resistance; the caution of the first, and the weakness of the last, were equally favourable to negotiation; the Moors, who were averse to the Christian government, were permitted to retire into Africa on the payment of ten pistoles for each family; and the sum of sixty thousand pistoles, which Ferdinand received in consequence of this compromise, is a sufficient testimony of the numbers who quitted Spain, to fertilize by their industry the sandy plains of Fez and Morocco.

Inconsiderable as this sum might appear in modern times, in the commencement of the sixteenth century it was an object to the wealthiest sovereign of Europe, and was deemed a seasonable supply to the coffers of Spain. The voyage of Columbus had indeed been attended with success, and a new world had been discovered across the Atlantic Ocean, where the natives had either tamely submitted to the yoke, or had been crushed by the skill and daring valour of the invaders; but the rich regions of Peru and Mexico were still unknown; though the fertile soil of the Islands of Cuba, Hispaniola, and Jamaica, invited
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to agriculture, the gold that could be collected from the inhabitants was not sufficient to defray the expences of the adventure; the inactivity of the Spaniards was increased by the effect of the sultry climate; their sanguine hopes had suggested to them that the country they had discovered was that of Ophir, from whence Solomon had imported those precious commodities which suddenly diffused such extraordinary riches throughout his kingdom; but when, instead of the golden harvest which they had expected to reap without toil or pains, they found their prospect of wealth was remote as well as uncertain, and that it could not be attained but by the slow and persevering efforts of industry, the disappointment they had encountered produced general discontent; it was communicated from the new colonies to Spain; it was asserted that the fatal enterprises of Columbus would drain the kingdom of its wealth, and prove the grave of its people; and Ferdinand himself was disposed to listen not only with a willing, but with a partial ear, to these insinuations.

Notwithstanding the flattering accounts which Columbus had given of the riches of America, the remittances from it had hitherto been so scanty as not to reimburse the charges of the armaments. The glory of the discovery, with the prospect of remote commercial advantages, were all that Spain had yet received in return for the efforts that she

had made. But time had already diminished the first sensations of joy, which the discovery of a new world occasioned, and fame alone was not an object to satisfy the cold interested mind of Ferdinand; the nature of commerce was so little understood, that where immediate gain was not acquired, the hope of distant benefit was totally disregarded. The King of Spain considered the country on this account as having lost by the enterprise, and imputed to the misconduct or incapacity of Columbus that regions which were reported to abound in gold, had yielded nothing of value to their conquerors; even Isabella, who had uniformly protected Columbus, was shaken by the number and boldness of his accusers;—Francis Bovedilla, a knight of Calatrava, was appointed to repair to Hispaniola with full power to inquire into the conduct of the admiral, and if he should find the charge of mal-administration proved, to supersede him, and assume the government of the Island.

It was impossible to escape condemnation, when it was the interest of the judge to pronounce guilty the person he was appointed to try. Without a hearing Columbus was loaded with chains, and hurried on board a ship; all accusations, the most improbable as well as inconsistent, were received; no informer, however infamous, was rejected, and the result of the inquest, no less indecent than partial,

was transmitted to Spain. Yet Ferdinand could not help blushing when he was informed that Columbus was brought home a prisoner and in chains; he perceived what universal astonishment this event must occasion, and what an impression to his disadvantage it must make. All Europe he foresaw would be filled with indignation at this ungenerous requital of a man, who had performed actions worthy of the highest recompense; and would exclaim against the injustice of the nation to which he had been such an eminent benefactor, as well as against the ingratitude of the prince whose reign he had rendered illustrious. His repentance was confirmed by Isabella, who resumed her former favourable sentiments. Anxious to efface the stain which the injury might fix on their characters, they instantly issued orders to set Columbus at liberty, invited him to court, and remitted money to enable him to appear in a manner suitable to his rank. In the presence of his sovereign he concealed not the emotions of injured integrity. In a long discourse he vindicated his own conduct, and displayed the malevolence of his enemies. But, though his innocence was acknowledged, his wrongs were not redressed; Bovedilla was removed, but Columbus was not restored; his demand to be reinstated in his office of Viceroy over the countries he had discovered, agreeable to the original treaty, was eluded under various and frivo-

lous pretexts; and, when at an advanced age, worn out with fatigue and broken with infirmities, with the ardour of youth he proposed to attempt a new passage to the East Indies, Ferdinand and Isabella rather engaged in the scheme to deliver their court from a man whose claims their jealousy suffered them not to comply with, but whose services decency allowed them not to neglect. Four small barks were only granted, the largest of which did not exceed seventy tons; and nothing but a spirit accustomed to brave dangers, and to engage in the most perilous undertakings, could have prompted him to enter on so hazardous an enterprise with so inadequate a force.

The parsimony of Ferdinand on this occasion was not solely the result of distrust or his natural disposition; he meditated already great designs which could only be accomplished at a great expence of blood and treasure. His convenient conscience absolved him from every obligation which his interest disapproved; he had perfidiously abandoned the King of Naples to acquire Apulia and Calabria, and he scrupled not to violate his recent engagements with the French to wrest from them their share of the spoil. The partiality of the Spanish historians has imputed the first encroachment to the ambition and levity of France; but the acknowledged integrity of Louis the Twelfth refutes the calumny: and the rapacity of Ferdinand,

nand; and the treachery of his celebrated General Gonsalvo justify the suspicion that they were the aggressors. It was not until the latter had turned his arms against their allies, that the French received orders to repel force by force; and their ardour was seconded by the disaffection of the Spanish troops, which had been long left without supplies: the Great Captain was reduced to retire before the Duke of Nemours; and within the walls of Berletta, an indigent and mutinous army, without ammunition or money, were neither inclined nor incapable of long resisting their enemies; but, at the moment that the hand of Louis was stretched out to grasp the entire kingdom of Naples, he was persuaded to listen to the language of accommodation, and lost an opportunity which it was never in his power afterwards to regain.

On the death of the Queen of Portugal, the Archduke Philip had, with his consort Joanna, been invited into Spain; and their succession to the crowns of Castille and Arragon had been acknowledged in an assembly of the states. But ambition only had induced Philip to ascend the bed of Joanna, and no sooner had he secured the object of his marriage than he was impatient to separate from a wife whom he had never loved: the state of affairs in Germany and the Low Countries was the pretence for his return; but

the real motive of it could not be concealed from the jealous eyes of Joanna, or the penetration of the Spaniards. Indifferent to the reproaches of the first, and the murmurs of the last, Philip pursued his journey from Madrid through France, and at Lyons had an interview with Louis the Twelfth. The war which had arisen in Naples was the subject of their conferences; and, in the name of his father-in-law, the Archduke subscribed a treaty with the King of France. By the conditions of it Charles, the son of Philip, was to receive in marriage Claude, the eldest daughter of Louis; the two monarchs were bound to a cessation of arms; the provinces originally ceded to each were confirmed; and the districts in dispute were to be sequestered into the hands of the Archduke.

The ambassadors of Ferdinand, who had accompanied Philip, swore to the punctual execution of the agreement; the sentence of excommunication was denounced against those who should infringe it; and it was officially announced to the Generals in Naples. The Duke of Nemours, confident of the sincerity of his sovereign, readily professed his acquiescence, and retired with his army from the walls of Berletta; but the crafty Gonsalvo, conscious of the congenial disposition of his royal master, affected to doubt the powers of the Archduke, and before he dismissed his troops, pleaded the

the propriety of his writing for more exprefs orders.

It was at this moment that the supplies which Ferdinand had filently prepared for the entire reduction of Naples opportunely arrived : a considerable fum of money, which had been extorted from the Moors, fatisfied the arrears and reftored the obedience of the army. And at the fame time that Gonfalvo beheld his own forces fwelled by ten thoufand Germans, which had been difpatched to his affiftance by Maximilian, he was informed that four thoufand French were already difbanded on the idea that the peace was concluded, and that the Pope and the Venetians were ready to desert the alliance of Louis. He availed himfelf of the afcendancy he had acquired ; burft from the narrow bounds in which he had been confined ; and overfpread with his numerous detachments the country. In Calabria a confiderable body of the French under the Lord d'Aubigny were routed by Antonio de Leyva ; the Duke of Nemours perceived with indignation the effects of his credulity, and endeavoured to efface them by his valour : in the plains of Cerignoles with fatal ardour he encountered his perfidious rival ; but neither the juftice of his caufe, the fidelity of his followers, nor his own daring example could avail him againft the fuperior numbers and fkill of the Great Captain : he found a glorious death on

the field of battle; the greatest part of his army perished with him; and their fate spread terror throughout Naples. The capital opened her gates to the victor; her influence extended to Capua and Averfa; the wretched remnant of the French, who, under d'Aubigny, had sought shelter within the walls of Angetole, were in a few days reduced to capitulate, and consented to evacuate the country; and, of the Neapolitan acquisitions of Louis, the strength of Gaieta alone resisted the tempest.

In Savoy Philip was informed of the perfidy and success of his father-in-law. Jealous of his own honour he instantly returned into France, and put himself into the power of Louis. At the same time he dispatched messengers to Ferdinand to remonstrate on the indelible infamy which must for ever stain his character if he countenanced the treachery of Gonsalvo. But the King of Spain, attentive only to the importance of his new acquisitions, was indifferent to reputation; with his usual duplicity, he at one moment disowned his ambassadors, and at another his general. He publicly offered to restore the kingdom to the captive Frederic; he privately sent orders to push the war to the absolute expulsion of the French; the latter were punctually and rapidly executed by Gonsalvo; the French Garrison of Gaieta asserted their national gallantry, but the contest was
unequal;

unequal; even the hope of succour was withdrawn; and after a long struggle their embarkation for France left Spain in the sole possession of Naples.

The magnanimity of Louis was admirably contrasted with the duplicity of Ferdinand; he commanded with indignation the ambassadors of the latter to quit instantly his dominions; but he scorned to avail himself of any other arms than what became him as a monarch. He exempted the Archduke from any suspicion of being concerned in the treachery of his father-in-law; he dismissed him with every mark of respect to pursue his route to Flanders; and at parting addressed him in these memorable words: “ If the King of Spain has
“ been guilty of perfidy, I will not imitate him;
“ and I am infinitely happier in the loss of a king-
“ dom, which I know how to re-conquer, than I
“ should have been in having stained my honour,
“ which I could never have retrieved.”

If Ferdinand was insensible to the reproaches, he could not be indifferent to the preparations of the prince whom he had injured: the chivalry of France were inflamed with the desire of avenging the wrongs of their sovereign; three armies were assembled to invade on every side the dominions of the King of Spain. The first commanded by Le Tremouille, and composed of eighteen thousand infantry, and two thousand cavalry was destined

tined for the recovery of the kingdom of Naples; the second consisted of six thousand Swiss and French, and under the conduct of the Lord d'Albret, and the Marechal de Giè, was directed to penetrate into Fontarabia; the third and most numerous was entrusted to the Marechal Rieux, and was to attack the country of Rouffillon; at the same time a considerable fleet was fitted out to insult the coasts of Catalonia and Valencia, and to prevent any communication at sea between Naples and Spain.

The King of Spain had foreseen, and had provided against the storm; yet his fortune was not less conspicuous than his prudence; and it was rather to the misconduct of his adversaries than his own exertions, that he was indebted for his security. The forces of France were received into Gaieta, and advanced towards Naples; but the indisposition of Tremouille proved fatal to the expedition; the Marquis of Mantua, on whom the command devolved, unable to conciliate the affections of his officers, retired and was succeeded by the Marquis of Saluces. The latter was vanquished by the superior genius of the Great Captain; the subsistence of the French was intercepted, their quarters attacked; and diminished by sickness they continued their disorderly retreat to the walls of Gaieta: that town was a second time invested by Gonsalvo; and the besieged, after enduring

during the calamities of famine for several weeks, signed a capitulation which provided for their personal freedom; but the articles of it were violated by Gonsalvo, who detained in captivity all those who were natives of Naples. The treaty was rejected by Lewis d'Ars, a French officer, who commanded a separate detachment; he refused to listen to the insidious offers of the Great Captain, and, with four thousand veterans, opened a passage with his sword to the frontiers of Milan; but his conduct was more honourable to himself than advantageous to his sovereign; the few towns that had been recovered by France, again submitted to Spain; and if in acquiring a kingdom the treachery of Gonsalvo must be condemned, his skill in preserving it must be applauded.

The army destined for the attack of Fontarabia was distracted by the jealousy of its generals, and, after a variety of injudicious attempts, joined the forces of France in Roussillon and formed the siege of Salses. From Madrid, which already began to erect itself into the capital of Spain, Ferdinand pressed his march towards Salses at the head of a numerous and obedient army; the French retired at his approach; their fleet also, after alarming the coasts of Valencia and Catalonia, returned to Marseilles; and Louis had the mortification of beholding his formidable armaments baffled in every enterprise: but the exultation of Ferdinand

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was alloyed by a domestic calamity, the consequences of which for a short time obscured the glory of his political horizon : Isabella, who in her own right held the sceptre of Castille, had been attacked by a dangerous indisposition ; the strength of her constitution enabled her to resist the immediate violence of the disease ; but the springs of life were poisoned, her lungs had been injured, and the symptoms of a decline were rapidly increased by the affliction of her mind. She still mourned the premature death of the infant, Don Juan, and the Queen of Portugal ; her daughter, Joanna, was a new source of grief : that princess had been so strongly affected by the departure of her consort, the Archduke, that her reason had been impaired by the shock : her union with him in Flanders had but partially restored her intellects ; and, in the early fate or protracted misery of her children, Isabella might justly complain that her prosperity as a Queen had been severely chastened by her sorrows as a mother. She expired at Madrid amidst the lamentations of her subjects, who had constantly experienced her justice and humanity, and in her mildness and generosity had often found protection from the inflexible rigour of the unfeeling Ferdinand.

Yet if the Castilians, whose genius had been cherished by her patronage, indulged their tears for the loss of a princess whose virtues they had
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so frequently felt, their grief was surpassed by that of a stranger. In search of a new passage to India Columbus had braved the tempests of the Atlantic Ocean, and encountered the malice and ingratitude of man. By the jealousy of Ovando, the governor of Hispaniola, his shattered squadron had been denied admittance into an harbour of which he had discovered the existence, and acquired the possession. After a tedious and dangerous voyage he first beheld Guiana, an Island not far distant from the coast of Honduras: thence steering towards the East, he ranged along the continent of America from Cape Gracias a Dios to an harbour which, on account of its beauty and security, he called Porto Bello. After a fruitless search, however, for the imaginary strait, through which he expected to have penetrated into the Indian sea, and a vain attempt to establish a colony on the banks of the river Belem, in the province of Veragua, he was assailed by a succession of disasters; one of his ships perished in a furious hurricane; he was obliged to abandon another; the patience of his crew was exhausted by fatigue and hunger; and, with the two vessels that remained, he bore away for Hispaniola: in a dreadful hurricane they were driven foul of each other, and to prevent them from sinking he was obliged to run them aground on the Island of Jamaica. Thus cast ashore at a considerable distance from the only settlement of
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the Spaniards in America, the measure of his calamities seemed full. Yet a fertile genius, and invincible spirit never abandoned him: amidst the despair of his comrades he discovered the only expedient that remained; he availed himself of the kindness and respect of the natives to convey an account of his situation to Hispaniola; they furnished him with rowers and two canoes, each hollowed by fire out of the trunks of a single tree; and in these slender vessels, Mendez, a Spaniard, and Fieschi, a Genoese, two gallant gentlemen, peculiarly attached to Columbus, ventured on a voyage of above thirty leagues. After surmounting incredible fatigues, they reached Hispaniola; but the heart of Ovando, from a mean jealousy of Columbus, was hardened against every tender sentiment; and Mendez and Fieschi consumed eight months in soliciting relief for their commander and associates without any prospect of obtaining it.

During this period the bosom of Columbus was not only agitated by the various passions of hope and despair, but his safety was menaced by the impatient dispositions of his own followers, and the levity of the natives. A considerable party of the former, despising his remonstrances, seized ten canoes which he had purchased from the Indians, and made off to a distant part of the Island; while the latter murmured at the long residence

dence of the Spaniards in their country, and their consumption of that subsistence which their indolence hardly permitted them to cultivate for themselves: they began to bring in provisions with reluctance, and even threatened to withdraw the supplies they had furnished: such a resolution must have been quickly fatal to the followers of Columbus; but it was happily averted by the genius of their leader; by his skill in astronomy he knew that there would shortly be a total eclipse of the moon: he assembled the Indian chiefs; reproached their presumption in withdrawing their affection and assistance, from the peculiar favourites of him who dwells in heaven; and informed them that the Great Spirit, who made and governs this world, was preparing to punish their crime with exemplary severity; and that very night the moon should withhold her light, and appear of a bloody hue, as a sign of the divine wrath. By some the prediction was received with careless indifference, by others with credulous astonishment: but no sooner began the moon gradually to be darkened than all were struck with terror. They in crowds besought Columbus to intercede for mercy; he affected to comply with their entreaties; the eclipse passed over; the moon recovered its splendour; the ascendancy of the Spaniards was established; and from that day they were regarded by the natives as the objects of superstitious reverence.

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The ignorant offspring of America might be awed by the superior knowledge of Columbus, but the turbulent sons of Europe could only be subdued by force. After repeated, but ineffectual, attempts to pass over into Hispaniola, the revolted Spaniards exasperated at their disappointments, marched with arms in their hands, and rage in their looks, to the part of the Island that was occupied by Columbus. His endeavours to reclaim them served only to increase their fury: their intentions became each day more violent and bloody; and the common safety rendered it necessary to meet them in the field. The gout confined Columbus from the unnatural conflict; and he trusted to the justice of his cause, and to the skill and courage of his brother, the Adalantado. The mutineers rushed on to the attack; but in the first shock several of their most daring leaders were slain. The Adalantado, whose strength was equal to his valour, closed with their Captain, wounded, and took him prisoner: the rest threw down their weapons, fled with precipitation, and soon after submitted in a body:—Columbus had hardly pronounced their pardon, when the vessels, which the tardy compassion of Ovando had dispatched to their relief, appeared in sight: they embarked with transport, and in a prosperous voyage gained St. Domingo; yet the studied civilities of Ovando could not disguise his
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mean jealousy of Columbus; the latter was impatient to quit an island where, amidst affected demonstrations of regard, he was treated on every occasion with injustice. With two vessels he parted from St. Domingo for Spain; but he was still exposed to the fury of the elements, and the trials of adversity: after sailing in a shattered bark, and under jury masts, above seven hundred leagues, he reached with difficulty the port of St. Lucar; he received there the fatal intelligence of the death of his patroness, Isabella, on whose justice, humanity, and favour, his last hopes were reposed.

His cup of affliction was now full: none remained to redress his wrongs or recompense his services; and the wretched remnant of his life was destined to be consumed in soliciting a prince who had long opposed, and frequently injured him. The interested character of Ferdinand justifies the suspicion that, while he eluded by ambiguous promises the claims of Columbus, he cherished the unworthy hope that death would soon deliver him from an importunate suitor whose merit he could not deny, though he had not the generosity to reward. Nor was he deceived in his base expectations; ingratitude combined with the hardships he had endured to exhaust the waning strength of Columbus; and at Valladolid, on the twentieth of May, one thousand five hundred and fix, that

celebrated navigator expired in the fifty-ninth year of his age. He died with a composure of mind suitable to the magnanimity which distinguished his character, and with sentiments of piety becoming that supreme respect for religion, which he manifested in every occurrence of his life.

It was not only the merit of Columbus that excited the jealousy of Ferdinand; tremblingly alive to suspicion, he regarded, with a jaundiced eye, genius of every description. The martial exploits of the Great Captain were not unworthy of the name he bore: the kingdom of Naples was the rich fruit of his victories. But the ambiguous negotiations that, in the prosecution of the enterprise he had engaged in with the Emperor Maximilian, alarmed the wakeful spirit of his sovereign: in the pursuit of his interest, he was conscious that Gonsalvo respected not the most sacred obligations; and he dreaded that perfidy from which he had himself reaped the most signal advantages: the mandate was issued for his recall from Naples; and his disobedience might have shaken the Italian possessions of Ferdinand; but the ambition of Gonsalvo was either too moderate or his loyalty too great to suffer him to draw his sword against his king: he obeyed with alacrity; and the undaunted countenance with which he entered the royal palace, and presented himself to his master,

master, ought to have effaced every doubt of his fidelity.

But the storm, which Ferdinand had dreaded from the superior talents and influence of Gonfalvo, soon burst upon him from another quarter. A few weeks before her death, Isabella had made her will, and sensible of the incapacity of Joanna, and disgusted by the reserve of Philip, she had appointed Ferdinand regent of the affairs of Castille until Charles, the son of Philip and Joanna, should attain the age of twenty. She had previously, however, obliged Ferdinand to swear, that he would not, by a second marriage, or by any other means, endeavour to deprive Joanna, or her posterity of their right of succession to any of his kingdoms. In consequence of this testament, though on the death of Isabella, Joanna and Philip had been proclaimed sovereigns of Castille, the reins of administration had been assumed by Ferdinand, and his claim to the regency had been formally acknowledged by the Cortes. Yet some symptoms of disgust had immediately appeared, and the Castilian pride could not submit, without a murmur, to the government of a King of Arragon. The disposition of Ferdinand, jealous, severe, and parsimonious, was ill adapted to the people he aspired to rule over : a formidable party was secretly cemented against him; and since the infirmities of Joanna and the youth of Charles rendered them incapable

of exercising the regal power, the eyes of the faction were turned on Philip, who as a husband might be deemed the proper guardian of his wife, and as a father the natural tutor of his son.

In the Netherlands Philip had received the account of Isabella's death, and testamentary disposition. His own temper suffered him not tamely to be supplanted by the ambition of his father-in-law, on the pretext of a will which he neither admitted to be just, nor genuine. His resentment was inflamed by the representations of Don John Manuel, who had been the Ambassador of Ferdinand at the imperial court, but who, on Isabella's death, had repaired to Brussels to court the favour of a new and more liberal master : by his counsels Ferdinand was formally required to retire into Aragon, and to deliver the government of Castille to those persons whom Philip should appoint ; at the same time a treaty was concluded with Louis the Twelfth, by which the Archduke flattered himself he had secured the alliance and friendship of that monarch.

To retain his power Ferdinand neglected not to employ every art which a genius naturally crafty, and long versed in the practices of courts, suggested. He proposed to the states at Toro a new code of laws, which even extorted the approbation of the adverse faction ; he assumed a more affable demeanour towards his nobles : and by
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the means of Conchillos, an Arragonian gentleman, he entered into a private negotiation with Joanna, and prevailed on that weak princess to confirm by her authority his right to the regency; but the intrigue was discovered by Don Manuel; Joanna's letter was intercepted; and Conchillos thrown into a dungeon by the exasperated Philip.

Even the cautious spirit of Ferdinand was not proof against this last mortification; his nobles had deserted his court to ingratiate themselves with Philip, or to assemble their vassals in the distant provinces for the civil war they expected; and he beheld with indignation his projects baffled by a rival whose youth and capacity he had despised. He yielded to his passion; and, sooner than renounce the regency of Castille, he resolved to deprive his daughter and her posterity of the crown. He demanded in marriage Joanna, the supposed daughter of Henry the Impotent, on the belief of whose illegitimacy Isabella's succession to the throne had been founded; and against whose claim he himself had formerly led armies, and fought battles. But the King of Portugal, in whose dominions Joanna resided, opposed the unnatural alliance; and the princess herself avowed her aversion to an union which was to transport her from the tranquillity of a convent to encounter the storms of civil dissension.

It was with greater success Ferdinand endeavoured to detach the king of France from the interests of Philip; he solicited by his Ambassador the hand of Germane de Foix, the niece of that monarch; Louis was not insensible to the vanity of placing a near relation, whom he tenderly loved, on the throne of Spain; and Germane, though scarcely eighteen, consented to share the crown and bed of a prince, who had already entered into his fifty-fourth year.

Deserted by an ally, on whom he had principally depended, the Archduke condescended to lay aside the haughty tone he had assumed, and to adopt more moderate, though not less effectual measures. He instructed his ambassadors to testify the strong desire which their master had of terminating all differences with Ferdinand in an amicable manner; and the latter, while he depended on his address in negotiation, became the dupe of those artifices which he had so frequently and successfully practised himself. He concluded a treaty at Salamanca, in which it was stipulated that the government of Castille should be carried on in the joint names of Joanna, of Ferdinand, and of Philip; and that the revenues and patronage of the crown should be equally divided between the two last.

It was far from the intention of Philip to observe the treaty that he had subscribed: his sole view
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was to divert Ferdinand from openly opposing his voyage to Spain; the former perceived too late the snare into which he had been allured; and though he prevailed on the King of France not only to remonstrate against the journey of the Archduke, but to threaten the invasion of his dominions, Philip, with the inflexibility peculiar to him, persevered in his resolution; accompanied by Joanna, in the depth of winter, he sailed from Middleburgh, with a considerable body of land forces, and a numerous fleet; but the season of the year was unfavourable to the enterprise; in the midst of the channel he was assailed by a violent tempest; and was obliged to seek shelter in the harbour of Weymouth.

The English sceptre was still swayed by Henry the Seventh, who, in the intriguing and crafty character of Ferdinand, respected his own; and who had ever cultivated a close and steady friendship with the King of Arragon. Though he received and entertained his guest at Windsor with a respect and magnificence due to his rank, yet he contrived, in compliance with the wishes of Ferdinand, to detain him near three months; nor did he suffer him to depart until he had delivered up to him Edmond de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, whose restless spirit and alliance with the house of York rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to Henry, and who, from the resentment of his Sovereign, had

sought refuge in the Low Countries. Yet it was with some degree of hesitation that Philip complied with the injurious request. "The measure," said he, addressing himself to Henry, "will reflect dishonour upon you as well as myself; you will be thought to have treated me as a prisoner." This argument was not felt by a prince accustomed only to regard his interest; "I take the dishonour on myself; your reputation is therefore safe:" was the reply of Henry. The Archduke was obliged to comply; but he first exacted Henry's promise that he would spare Suffolk's life. That nobleman was invited over to England, in the hope that the king would grant him a pardon, on the intercession of his friend and ally. On his arrival, he was immediately committed to the tower, and Philip, having gratified the resentment of Henry, and as King of Castille, having concluded with him a treaty of commerce, advantageous to England, was at length permitted to pursue his voyage.

During the interval that his son-in-law had been detained in England Ferdinand had been assiduous in his endeavours to fortify his influence in Castille; but he had the mortification of beholding his advances rejected with disdain by a people who had openly murmured against his severe economy, and who were weary of a long and austere reign. He was obliged to renounce the design he had entertained

tained of opposing the landing of Philip in arms; and no sooner had the latter disembarked at Corunna, in Galicia, than the Castilian nobles eagerly declared in his favour. From every corner of the kingdom, persons of the highest rank, with numerous retinues of their vassals, repaired to their new sovereign; the treaty of Salamanca was universally condemned; and all agreed to exclude from the government of Castille, a prince, who, by his attempt to separate Arragon and Naples from that Crown, had discovered so little concern for its true interests. Incapable of resisting the torrent of revolt, Ferdinand consented by treaty to resign the regency, to retire into his hereditary dominions of Arragon, and to rest satisfied with the grand masterships of the three principal military orders, and one half of the revenue arising from the Indies, which the will of Isabella had assigned him. Decency, however, required an interview; and Philip advanced to the place appointed, at the head of six thousand veterans, and a splendid retinue of Castilian nobles; while Ferdinand was only attended by about two hundred of his domestics, mounted on mules and unarmed, and accompanied by the Duke of Alva, the Marquis of Denia, and Ximenes Archbishop of Toledo, who alone had remained faithful to him amidst the general defection. The behaviour of Philip was reserved and stately; that of Ferdinand cheerful and affable; and

and beneath the affectation of gaiety, he endeavoured to disguise his regret for the loss of a Crown that he had so long worn.

Yet the mortification that he laboured to conceal in public he indulged in private; he had been overreached in conduct, and stripped of power; his vanity and ambition were equally wounded, and before he retired into Arragon, in hopes that some favourable event would open to him the road to the throne he had quitted, he protested, though with great secrecy, against the treaty that he had concluded with his son-in-law, as being extorted by force, and consequently void of all obligation.

In asserting his pretensions to the crown of Castille, Philip had displayed no inconsiderable degree of ability; but in the possession of it his capacity was not found equal to the favourable opinion that had been entertained of him. He abandoned himself to the dominion of his Flemish favourites; and the pride of the Castilian nobles was wounded by his preference to a succession of strangers, with whose language they were unacquainted, and with whose manners they were disgusted. The unhappy Joanna, from whom he had derived his authority, had remained during the struggle for power oppressed by a deep melancholy; she was seldom allowed to appear in public; her father, though he had often desired it, was refused access to her; and Philip's chief object was to prevail on the Cortes
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declare her incapable of government, that the reins of administration might be entirely confided to his hands, until his son should attain to full age; but though Manuel, who, of the Spanish ministers, alone maintained his empire over the mind of his master, had the address to gain some members of the Cortes assembled at Valladolid, and others were willing to gratify their new sovereign in his first request, yet such was the partial attachment of the Castilians to their native princess, that the great body of the representatives refused their consent to a declaration which they thought so injurious to the blood of their monarchs; and Joanna and Philip were jointly proclaimed Queen and King of Castille, and their son Charles Prince of Asturias.

The disappointment served still more to estrange the countenance of Philip from his new subjects.— He openly permitted his Flemish courtiers to enrich themselves by the sale of the most important offices of Castille; and while he lived in the utmost familiarity with the latter, he preserved an haughty reserve towards the grandees of Spain; but in less than three months after he had obtained the regal dignity, that he had pursued with so much ardour, his passions, which menaced the happiness of his people, proved fatal to himself. At table he indulged his appetites to excess; and to quicken the powers of digestion, had recourse to violent exercise;

cise; while hot, he imprudently drank a quantity of sherbet, that had been cooled with ice; a fever instantly ensued; and fortunately for his subjects, after an illness of six days, he expired in the twenty-eighth year of his age.

On his demise, the royal authority in Castille ought to have devolved on Joanna; but the shock occasioned by a disaster so unexpected as the death of her husband, completed the disorder of her understanding, and her incapacity for government. Though in the sixth month of her pregnancy, no remonstrances could prevail on her, during the time of Philip's sickness, to leave him for a moment; when he was no more, she continued to watch the dead body with the same tenderness and affection as if it had been alive. Though at last she permitted it to be buried, she soon removed it from the tomb to her own apartment, and kept her eyes steadily fixed upon it, as impatient of the moment when it should breathe again. Even jealousy was mingled with her care; she did not permit any of her female attendants to approach the corpse; she suffered not the presence of any woman who did not belong to her family; and rather than grant that privilege to a midwife, though a very aged one had been chosen on purpose, she bore the Princess Catherine, without any other assistance than that of her own domestics; it was in vain that her ministers, with the Archbishop of Toledo, endeavoured

voured to recall her from her frantic grief to the administration of Castille; she would have deemed her attention to public affairs an impious neglect of those duties which she owed to her deceased consort; the only answer that could be extorted from her, was, that her father would soon come and settle every thing; yet even of that father, whose return she seemed thus eagerly to desire, she shewed no small degree of jealousy; even she proceeded so far at one moment, as to forbid the states from inviting him, and by an unaccountable caprice, while she declined assuming the administration herself, she refused to commit it to any other person; and no remonstrances of her subjects could persuade her to name a regent, or even to sign such papers, as were necessary for the execution of justice and the security of the kingdom.

In this emergency, the eyes of the Castilians were naturally turned on Ferdinand, who claimed the regency, as the administrator of his daughter, and by the testament of Isabella; yet a considerable party of the nobles, headed by Don John Manuel, who had been most active in expelling the King of Arragon from power, and had most reason to dread his return to it, exhorted the Emperor Maximilian to assert his pretensions, as the guardian of his grandson Charles. Ever fond of new projects, the latter entered into the scheme with his usual

usual ardour, and abandoned it with his wonted levity. Every step that he advanced presented new difficulties; he was a stranger to the laws and manners of Castille; he was destitute of troops and money to promote his enterprise; nor could his claim be admitted, without a public declaration of Joanna's incapacity for government; an indignity, to which, notwithstanding the notoriety of her distemper, the delicacy of the Castilians could not bear the thought of subjecting her.—Oppressed by these circumstances, the influence of Maximilian daily declined; a languid and ineffectual negociation was his only expedient; he stated his right in a variety of manifestoes, promised much, and performed nothing.

The conduct of Maximilian was not inconsistent with his general character; but the measures which Ferdinand pursued at this critical juncture, could not but excite universal astonishment. He had received the account of his son-in-law's death at Porto-fino, in the territories of Genoa, on his way to Naples; but so impatient was he to discover the intrigues which he fancied the Great Captain had carried on in the latter kingdom, that he chose to leave Castille in a state of anarchy, and even to hazard, by this delay, the government of it, than to discontinue his voyage.

The evils which might have arisen from his absence, were happily averted by the zeal and abilities

ties of his adherents. Of these, Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, was justly considered the chief; one of those extraordinary characters that scarce present themselves in an age, his genius burst from the narrow limits of the cloyster, in which he was educated, to guide and controul the cabinet. He was descended from an honourable, though not a wealthy, family; and the circumstances of his parents, as well as his own inclinations, determined him to enter into the church. He easily obtained benefices of great value, which opened to him the road to the highest preferments. All these he renounced at once; and after undergoing a very severe noviciate, assumed the habit of St. Francis in a monastery of Observantine Friars, one of the most rigid orders in the Romish church. There he soon became eminent for his austerity of manners, and for those excesses of superstitious devotion, which are the proper characteristics of the monastic life. Yet amidst these extravagances, his understanding, naturally penetrating and decisive, retained its full vigour, and acquired him such influence in his own order, as raised him to be the provincial of it. His reputation for sanctity soon procured him the office of Father Confessor to Queen Isabella, which he accepted with the utmost reluctance; but in a court he still preserved his former austerity of manners; he continued to make all his journies on foot; he subsisted only

upon alms; his acts of mortification were as severe as ever, and his penances as rigorous. Isabella, pleased with her choice, conferred on him, not long after, the Archbishopric of Toledo, which, next to the papacy, is the richest dignity in the church of Rome. He affected to decline this honour with a firmness which nothing but the authoritative injunction of the Vatican could overcome; though the sincerity of his refusal may be questioned, yet the height of his promotion made no change in his manners. Though obliged to display in public that magnificence which became his station, he himself retained his monastic severity: under his pontifical robes, he constantly wore the coarse frock of St. Francis, the rents in which he used to darn with his own hands. He at no time used linen, but was constantly clad in haircloth. He slept always in his habit, most frequently on the ground, or on boards. He did not taste any of the delicacies which appeared at his table, but satisfied himself with that simple diet which the rule of his order prescribed; but he attentively studied that world from which he appeared to estrange himself; and made himself master of the passions of mankind, while he neglected their manners. No sooner was he called by the high opinion which Ferdinand and Isabella entertained of him to take a principal share in the administration, than he displayed talents for business, which rendered

the same of his wisdom equal to that of his sanctity. His political conduct was remarkable for the boldness and originality of his plans ; his extensive genius suggested to him schemes vast and magnificent ; conscious of the integrity of his intentions, he pursued these with unremitting assiduity, and undaunted firmness ; and in his commerce with the world, discovered that inflexibility of mind peculiar to the monastic profession, and which can hardly be conceived in a country where the latter is unknown.

Ximenes had been raised to the Archbishopric of Toledo by the sole favour of Isabella, and contrary to the inclination of Ferdinand ; yet on the death of the former, when Philip aspired to the regency, he had steadily adhered to the declining fortunes of the latter. The King of Arragon had recommended him to his son-in-law as the best and ablest minister that Spain had ever known ; but the very recommendation rendered him obnoxious to that prince ; and the archbishop beheld, not without indignation, his salutary counsels neglected for the insidious suggestions of Manuel ; but when Philip expired, he assumed his former ascendancy ; and though, in the name of Maximilian, he might have ruled with absolute authority, and could have no expectation of enjoying much power under Ferdinand, who had hitherto constantly retained it in his own hands, yet his disinterested spirit pre-

ferred the welfare of his country to his grandeur, and he openly declared that Castille could never be so happily governed, as by a prince, whom long experience had rendered thoroughly acquainted with its true interest. His zeal to bring over his countrymen to this opinion, induced him to lay aside somewhat of his usual austerity and haughtiness; he condescended on this occasion to court the disaffected nobles, and employed address, as well as arguments, to persuade them; nor was Ferdinand, though distant, inattentive to his interests; he seconded with his usual dexterity the intrigues of Ximenes; and by concessions to some of the grandees, by promises to others, and by letters full of complaisance to all, he gained many of his most violent opponents.

As soon as the King of Arragon had satisfied himself of the loyalty of Gonfalvo, and assured himself of the obedience and attachment of Naples, he set out for Madrid. In an interview with his daughter Joanna, he easily prevailed on that unhappy princess, who displayed some transient interval of reason, to sign a deed which authorized him to govern Castille in her name; his authority was recognized by the Cortes; but a numerous party still ventured to oppose it; and it was not until Ferdinand had in arms chastised the turbulence of the City of Cordova, and driven into exile the Marquis de Priego, one of the
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the most considerable of the malecontents, that the tranquillity of his administration was established.

The pretensions of Maximilian, though no longer formidable, still remained to be adjusted: and to the integrity of Louis the Twelfth was referred the honourable office of mediating between the rival princes. He confirmed to Ferdinand the government of Castille until his grandson Charles should attain the mature age of twenty-five; and stipulated for the Emperor the annual payment of fifty thousand ducats, a sum which the indigence of the latter rendered most acceptable; but it was not only the affairs of Castille that occupied the attention of the King of France; Italy was still the theatre on which he languished to erect his martial trophies; he had in person reduced the Genoese, who with their wonted levity, had aspired to shake off his yoke; and he readily listened to the proposal of Julius the Second, who, in the apostolic chair displayed a disposition better suited to the camp than the conclave; and who ardently seized the first opportunity to be avenged of the firmness with which the Venetians had resisted his encroaching spirit.

During the various contests of the states of Italy, the constitution of Venice had maintained its stability, and the senate had conducted its affairs with prudence and vigour. The territories of the commonwealth were enlarged; and the commerce

which it carried on, and the manufactures which it had established, rendered it the most opulent state in Europe. The power of the Venetians became at length an object of terror to their neighbours, and their wealth was viewed with envy by the greatest monarchs, who ill brooked the superior magnificence of those haughty citizens. Julius the Second regarded them with peculiar enmity; and his intrigues first laid the foundation of that formidable league, which, from the place where it was signed, is known by the title of the league of Cambray, and which was composed of the greatest sovereigns of Europe; the promise of an ample subsidy engaged the necessitous Maximilian to concur in the enterprise; Ferdinand was anxious to re-annex to his Neapolitan dominions the towns which the republic possessed on the coast of Calabria; but Louis was only impelled by an imprudent desire to break the haughty spirit of the republic; and to humble the arrogance of her senators, who approached too near the majesty of monarchy, he consented to join in the invasion of the only ally on which he could depend beyond the Alps.

While Ferdinand waited the moment in which the banners of Spain were to be displayed, in concert with those of Rome, of France, and of Germany, the bold and vigorous mind of Ximenes, whose fidelity had been rewarded by his promotion

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to the dignity of Cardinal, suffered not the martial genius of his countrymen to languish in indolence; the revenues of Toledo were consecrated to promote the glory and extend the dominions of Spain; and at his own expence the Archbishop offered to undertake the conquest of Oran, an important fortress on the coast of Africa, almost opposite to Carthage. The land forces allotted for the service consisted of ten thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry; the transports which received them were convoyed by a strong squadron of armed galleys; large stores of provision were provided by the prudent liberality of the Archbishop; and his presence in the war which he waged against the enemies of his country and his religion, gave confidence to his followers, and energy to their counsels. They safely disembarked on the shore of Africa; and at Mazalquivir, within sight of the towers of Oran, they beheld the Moorish army ranged in order of battle. The remonstrances of his officers prevailed on Ximenes to retire from the approaching conflict; but his retreat abated not the ardour which his eloquence had inspired; the undisciplined troops of Tremecen were incapable of resisting the steady valour of the chivalry of Spain; they fled in confusion; Oran opened her gates, and the standard of Christ was displayed from her walls; nor was the modesty of Ximenes less signal in victory, than his abilities had been

conspicuous in facilitating it ; after providing for the security of his new acquisition, he repassed the seas, and in the studious retirement of Alcala, sequestered himself from the applause of his countrymen.

The expedition against Oran delayed not the invasion of the republic of Venice ; yet the confederates, though they acted with vigour, were far from being united in their hopes or views ; the different princes of Italy had acceded, from fear or envy, to the league of Cambray ; and the Venetians, with a presumption different from their natural character, instead of bending before the storm, prepared to encounter it with firmness.— Julius had early repented of his new alliance ; and offered, if Faenza and Rimini were restored to the apostolic see, to desert the cause he had embarked in. But Venice, confident in her strength, rejected his proposals. She collected her forces, and heard, without terror, that Louis, at the head of his nobles, had crossed the Alps in person. The impetuous valour of the French, inflamed by the example of their monarch, triumphed over all obstacles. In the battle of Ghiarrada, Alviano, the Venetian General, after displaying the courage of a soldier, and the skill of a commander, was defeated, with the loss of eight thousand men ; Julius immediately seized all the towns which the Republic held in the ecclesiastical
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territories ; those on the coast of Calabria were swept away by Ferdinand. On one side, Maximilian himself, at the head of a powerful army, advanced towards Venice, while the French rapidly pushed their conquests on the other. From the height of presumption, the Venetians sunk to the lowest extreme of despair, and in their capital expected the fatal blow which was to extinguish them as a republic.

But though the allies had united to humble the pride of Venice, their success soon revived their ancient jealousy and animosities. Each dreaded the aggrandisement of the other ; a mutual suspicion prevailed through every part ; but above all, Ferdinand feared lest Louis should become the arbiter of Italy. Their growing discord revived the hopes of Venice ; by well-timed concessions, the Senate appeased the Pope and Ferdinand ; they purchased the neutrality of Maximilian ; and by their arts at length dissolved a confederacy, which threatened to swallow up their commonwealth ; but though they recovered again many of their cities, they could never entirely retrieve their former influence, or extent of territory ; while in their humiliation, Louis, who had been guided rather by resentment than political motives when he engaged in the league of Cambray, was soon awakened to a mortifying sense of the error he had committed, by the perfidy of the Roman pontiff.

Elated by the effects of a league which he himself had planned, Julius conceived no enterprise too difficult, and entertained the fond hope of expelling every foreign power out of Italy. He proceeded, however, in this design with some degree of caution, and directed his first attack against the French. He absolved the Venetians from the interdict he had fulminated against them; he assisted to reconcile them to the Emperor; he negotiated with Henry the Eighth of England, who had succeeded to the throne of his father; and he at last openly declared war against the King of France; entered the duchy of Ferrara; laid siege to Mirandola; appeared in the trenches in person; and on the surrender of the city, caused himself to be carried in military triumph through the breach of the wall.

Some tincture of reverence for the successors of St. Peter, still marked the sixteenth century; and Louis was distinguished above his contemporaries for his devout respect for the holy see; but his moderation was overwhelmed by the capture of Mirandola; he gave orders to avenge the insult; and Julius, pressed by the Marechal Trivulzio, within the walls of Ravenna, dreaded the reduction of Rome, and his own deposition from the apostolic chair. He was relieved by the credulity of his adversary, who listened to an insidious ne-
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gociation for peace, while Julius summoned to his assistance more distant, but more powerful allies.

The promise of a large subsidy, and the prospect of plunder, allured the Swiss to quit their barren mountains for the plains of Italy; the Venetians were actuated by resentment; the other states of Italy by jealousy; and Ferdinand, ever attentive to discern his true interests, engaged to support the confederacy with the arms and treasures of Castille, of Arragon, and of Naples. His formidable preparations were urged, under pretence of waging war against the infidels; but the artifice did not elude the penetration of Louis the Twelfth: "I am," said he, "the Moor and Saracen against whom they arm in Spain." Yet the effect of the armament was felt in Africa; the Kings of Fez and Tremecen trembled at the storm which menaced them; they consented to release the Christian slaves in their hands; to become the vassals of Ferdinand; and to acknowledge his sovereignty by a considerable tribute. Satisfied with these concessions, and having vindicated the honour of his religion, the Catholic King resumed his attention to Europe; he openly joined the confederacy, which, from the Roman Pontiff, in whose defence it was framed, obtained the name of the holy league, and he detached a large body of veteran troops to reinforce the army of the allies in Italy.

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The confederates ravaged the duchy of Milan, retook Brescia, and besieged Bologna; and the declining fortunes of the French were pressed on every side, when their drooping spirits were re-animating by the presence of a youthful hero, whose life was a short but rapid career of uninterrupted victory and glory.

Gaston de Foix, Duke of Nemours, was son to John de Foix, by Mary of Orleans, sister to Louis the Twelfth. He was brother to Germane, the Queen of Castille and Arragon, to obtain for whom an advantageous marriage, the King of France had consented to a peace with Ferdinand. The partiality of Louis was extended early to his nephew; and though Gaston had scarce attained his twenty-third year, to his arm was assigned the honourable duty of restoring the fame and fortunes of his country; the Duke of Nemours justified the choice of his sovereign; and his martial genius burst forth with superior lustre: during the siege of Bologna, he entered the city under a favourable fall of snow, unperceived by the assailants, who instantly retired from before the walls: he surprised Brescia; and with only six thousand chosen soldiers, defeated the Venetian general Baglioni, who opposed his march; and glutted his followers with the slaughter of eight thousand of the enemy. The most important victories were indeed necessary to extricate Louis from his difficulties; and that monarch,

narch, sensible that the Florentines were ready to declare for the holy league, sent orders to Gaston to hazard a decisive action.

The jealousy of his master, rather than age, restrained Gonsalvo from the field ; and soon after, in retirement, the greatest captain that Spain had ever produced breathed his last. The troops of Ferdinand were entrusted to, and the allies were commanded by, Raymond de Cordona, Viceroy of Naples : to induce the latter to hazard a general engagement, the Duke of Nemours laid siege to Ravenna. The confederates advanced to the relief of that city ; the two armies were nearly equal in numbers, but the talents of their leaders were far from being balanced. In the battle of Ravenna, Gaston displayed the qualities of a consummate general, and intrepid foldier. The confederates were broken by his superior genius and valour ; but though the day was lost, the Spaniards maintained their reputation for steady courage ; amidst the rout and dismay of their allies, their ranks were compact, their countenance undaunted ; they still continued in their retreat to repulse the attacks of their adversaries ; impatient of rendering his victory complete by their destruction, Gaston himself, with about twenty gentlemen rushed to the charge ; he was received with firmness, and oppressed by numbers ; his horse was killed under him ; and though his attendants conjured
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the Spaniards to respect the life of the brother of their Queen Germane, their cries were either disregarded, or drowned by the tumult of battle; and the Duke of Nemours, after having fought with the most heroic courage, fell, pierced with twenty-two wounds.

With their general, the fortune of the French seems to have expired; and the vanquished army considered their defeat as more than compensated by his death. They resumed their wonted ascendancy, while the former sunk once more beneath their adverse fate. The Marechal Trivulzio, who succeeded to the command, possessed neither the genius nor the influence of his predecessor. His orders were frequently disobeyed or neglected by his officers; and instead of aspiring to extend, he gradually abdicated the conquests of Gaston. The death of Julius the Second did not suspend the immediate ardour of the confederates; John de Medicis, his successor in the apostolic chair, appeared also to have succeeded to his designs; the Swiss broke into the Milanese, defeated the Marshals Tremouille and Trivulzio with signal slaughter, and restored the Duchy to the authority of Francis Sforza, the son of the unfortunate Ludovico. Thence diverting the stream of conquest to the right, they penetrated into Burgundy, and laid siege to Dijon; and it was only by the liberal distribution of a sum of money, and the more liberal promises

promises of Louis that Dijon was preserved from their repacious arms.

Genoa seized the favourable moment to throw off the yoke : the Emperor menaced the security of Champagne ; and Henry the Eighth of England, young and ardent, and inflamed with the prospect of military glory, landed at Calais, and formed the siege of Terouanne, a town situated on the frontiers of Picardy. To the relief of that place, Louis advanced as far as Amiens ; but the cavalry of France endeavouring to cover a convoy, was attacked by the English ; though composed of gentlemen who had served with the greatest gallantry in the wars of Italy, they yielded to the panic which the sudden sight of the enemy inspired, and from the precipitation with which they fled, the rout of that day has obtained the name of *the battle of the Spurs*. Terouanne immediately capitulated ; and in compliance with the solicitations of Maximilian, Henry soon after undertook the siege of, and reduced, Tournay, a city of Flanders.

While the other confederates wasted their forces in enterprizes from which they could derive but little advantage, the sagacious Ferdinand maturely revolved the distress of his enemy and his own interests ; instead of aspiring to further conquests in Italy, he was content to observe the motions of his adversary, and to support by detachments the cause of the allies. A more important acquisition occupied

cupied his attention ; from the frontiers of Biscay to the Pyrenees, the kingdom of Navarre stretched sixty miles in breadth and seventy-five in length. The sceptre, by marriage, had passed to the hand of John of Albret ; and his connection with the court of France was readily seized by Ferdinand, as a pretext to invade a territory he had long contemplated with desire. A frivolous manifesto, which thinly veiled the encroaching disposition of the King of Spain, was supported by a numerous and veteran army, commanded by the Duke of Alva, whose unrelenting and persevering spirit admirably qualified him for the conduct of an enterprise founded on injustice, and where the broken and mountainous face of the country presented the principal obstacle. The King of Navarre was hardly allowed time to reject the ignominious proposal of delivering his son the Prince of Viana, and three of his strongest forts, into the hands of Ferdinand, as securities for his pacific intentions, before the banners of Spain were displayed beneath the walls of his capital. Situated on the banks of the Arga, the natural strength of Pampeluna resisted for some time the arms of Alva ; but the garrison were at once assailed by famine and the sword ; their monarch, in exile beyond the Pyrenees, in vain implored from Louis those succours which his own distress allowed him not to grant ; and they reluctantly submitted to the terms which were prescribed by Alva ; the
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lives and property of the inhabitants were spared ; but they were obliged to ratify their allegiance to their new master by a formal oath ; and by the conquest of Navarre, the Spanish monarchy was extended from the frontiers of Portugal, on one side, to the Pyrenees on the other.

To secure Navarre was the policy of Ferdinand ; and Louis, after some ineffectual attempts to restore his ally, was compelled to resign him to his fate. To a prince who possessed a nice sense of honour, the sacrifice was, doubtless, painful ; but the forces of Spain threatened Guienne and Languedoc, while those of the empire menaced Champagne, and the English ravaged Picardy. The formidable combination was, however, soon dissolved ; Ferdinand was content with what he had already acquired ; Maximilian, incapable of steadiness in his plans, was impatient for peace ; and they both readily listened to the overture of Louis of bestowing his second daughter on one of their common grandsons ; though the negociation of marriage was never concluded, yet it produced a cessation of hostilities on the side of Guienne and Languedoc ; and it was only in Italy, as the ally of the Roman pontiff, that the banners of Spain were opposed to those of France.

The prosperity that attended Ferdinand in public life, had not entirely accompanied him in private ; a numerous race of grandchildren, by Joanna and Philip, destined to share or possess, by marriage,

by inheritance, or election; the various crowns of Europe, were rather the objects of his jealousy than his affection. He considered Charles in particular as his rival instead of his successor. One son alone had been the fruit of his union with Germane, who, had he lived, would have deprived Charles of the crowns of Arragon, Naples, Sicilly, and Sardinia; but the feeble infant scarce beheld the light, before he expired; and the solicitude of Ferdinand for other children, induced him, in his advanced age, to have recourse to his physicians, and, by their prescriptions, to one of those potions which are supposed to add vigour to the constitution, though they more frequently prove fatal to it; Germane still proved barren, but the health of Ferdinand was poisoned; a constant languor and dejection of mind succeeded; and his shattered frame bespoke his approaching dissolution.

Ferdinand was not the only monarch whose vigour was exhausted in the embraces of a youthful consort; it had been the observation of Louis of France, that "Love was the king of young men, but the tyrant of old;" yet, at the age of fifty-three, he sought the hand of Mary of England, who had scarce completed her sixteenth year. An immediate peace with Henry was the consequence of this marriage; but the King of France survived not long enough to reap any material advantage

from this new alliance : Mary, to youth added beauty and vivacity ; and the desire of Louis to please his charming bride, was fatal to his life.— The Royal palace was the constant scene of festivity ; but the strength of the King was inadequate to his pursuit of pleasure. Three months after his nuptials, he was seized with a fever and dysentery, and breathed his last at Paris. In him expired the elder branch of the house of Orleans, and in his successor, Francis the First, the sceptre was transferred to that of Angoulême.

Ferdinand could not be indifferent to the death of Louis, and the accession of a new monarch to the throne of France, whose ardent spirit, impatient for glory, menaced, and long violated, the repose of Europe. Yet, the first message of Francis to the court of Madrid, bore the appearance of amity ; and he expressed, by his ambassador, his wishes that a partial truce should be ratified between the two kingdoms, on the side of Navarre. The object of the negotiation did not escape the penetration of Ferdinand ; and his answer, that he was willing to agree to an honourable peace, which might include Italy, revealed his just suspicions.

The same thirst of transalpine conquests inflamed Francis, as had agitated the reigns of his predecessors Charles and Louis. At the head of a gallant nobility, he broke, like a torrent, into the Milanese, which had again acknowledged the au-

thority of the house of Sforza. In the bloody battle of Marignano, the Swiss, after an obstinate resistance, which was continued through two successive days, were compelled to retire from the field, with the loss of ten thousand of their countrymen; and Francis, whose personal valour had shone conspicuous in the hour of slaughter, rapidly improved his victory; he advanced to Milan, and possessed himself of the capital and person of Sforza, who, destitute of talents, and the honourable pride of a Prince, was content to implore the mercy of his conqueror; and on a pension assigned him by the latter, lingered at Paris for fifteen years through a life of contempt.

The progress of Francis had roused Ferdinand from the couch of indisposition; all Spain resounded with his preparations. The States of Arragon, who had delayed their proportion of the supplies, were severely rebuked by a sovereign, who neither wanted ability nor resolution to compel their obedience. A new treaty was negociated with Henry of England; and, across the Straits of Gibraltar, the tribes of Fez and Morocco, alarmed at the magnitude of his armaments, solicited, by costly presents, the friendship of Ferdinand.

But while the eyes of the greater part of Europe and Africa were fixed on that monarch, he himself drew near the final period of his reign and life. The exertions he had made, exhausted the small
remnant

remnant of his strength ; yet though he now despaired of having any son of his own, his aversion to the Archduke did not abate ; and to gratify this unnatural passion, he made a will, appointing his grandson Ferdinand regent of all his kingdoms until the arrival of his brother, and by the same deed he settled upon him the grand mastership of the three military orders. The former of these grants might have empowered the young prince to have disputed the throne, the latter would have rendered him independent of it. The honest remonstrances of his most ancient and faithful counsellors prevailed on the expiring monarch to retract the injurious disposition ; and by his last testament he contented himself with bequeathing Ferdinand the annual sum of fifty thousand ducats, instead of the princely inheritance he had flattered him with ; and left the administration of Castille, until the arrival of Charles, in the hands of Ximenes.

It was in a narrow inn in the obscure village of Madragalajo, on his way to Andalusia, that Ferdinand, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, breathed his last ; he encountered death with a composure which, by his admirers, has been ascribed to the satisfaction that arose from the review of his reign, and by his enemies has been imputed to that dissimulation which they asserted did not forsake him in the hour of his dissolution. Yet though he possessed not that ardent courage which was requisite

to command the admiration of the high-spirited Castilians, yet, in every emergency he displayed a mind calm but undaunted. More politic than brave, more covetous of power than of fame, he regarded but little the means by which he obtained his ends ; and to extend his dominions, he frequently violated his faith. Jealous of his authority, he viewed the merits of his subjects with a suspicious eye ; and though he availed himself of, he dreaded those superior talents, which, in the popular estimation, might raise the possessor to a level with the throne. His injurious recall of Gonfalgo, his base ingratitude to Columbus, tarnish the lustre of his reign ; and while he rewarded with a cold and reluctant hand, he punished with rigid and exemplary justice. The same economy which he introduced into the state, he practised in private life ; and the imposts he levied on his people, were scrupulously devoted to extend the boundaries and glory of his kingdom. Castille, which had been confined to wage a doubtful war within the limits of the Pyrenees, or against the Moors of Africa, beneath his auspices assumed a commanding station in the politics of Europe ; he added to it by inheritance the crowns of Arragon, Sicily, and Sardinia ; and by conquest, the kingdoms of Grenada, of Naples, and of Navarre. He crushed the exorbitant pretensions of the nobles, and exalted the prerogatives of the sovereign ; he broke

the strength of the feudal system, gave vigour to the executive power, and efficacy to the laws.— But one plant of noxious quality struck root beneath his administration; and the inquisition, which he first grafted on the constitution of Spain, and which he carefully cherished, in successive reigns darkened with its baneful shade the happiness of the people; and though its branches have been lopped by the hand of philosophy, yet, in the eighteenth century its trunk has still been spared, and remains a melancholy proof of the extent of religious persecution.

Chapter the Eleventh.

Accession of Charles—His Subjection to his Favourites—State of Spain—Administration of Ximenes—Proclaims Charles King at Madrid—Humbles the Nobility—His prudent Measures in regard to Navarre—Unfortunate Expedition against Barbarossa—Rapacity of Charles's Favourites—Complaints of Ximenes—Peace established between France and Spain by the Treaty of Noyon—Charles embarks for Spain—Lands at Villa-Viciosa—Ximenes advances to meet him—Is seized with a violent Indisposition—Suspicious of Poison—Remonstrates to the King on the dangerous Ascendancy of his Flemish Courtiers—Is neglected by Charles, who dismisses him from the Administration—Death of Ximenes—His Memory respected in Spain—Charles is acknowledged King, in Conjunction with Joanna—Discontents of the Spaniards—Rapacity of the Flemings—Death of Maximilian—Charles aspires to the Imperial Crown—Is opposed by Francis—Moderation of Frederick Duke of Saxony, surnamed the Sage—Charles is elected Emperor.

A. D. 1516, **W**HEN the death of Ferdinand de-
 1517. volved on Charles the rich inheritance
 of Castille, of Arragon, and Navarre, of Naples,
 Sicily, and Sardinia, he had not completed his
 six-

sixteenth year ; but his early youth had been formed by Margaret of Austria, his aunt and Margaret of York, the widow of Charles the Bold, two princesses of great virtue and abilities. On the death of his father Philip, William de Croy, Lord of Chievres, and Adrian of Utrecht, were chosen by his grandfather Maximilian to superintend his education, and cultivate his mind. The latter fruitlessly endeavoured to initiate into him the frivolous science of metaphysical theology ; but the former successfully encouraged him to excel in the violent exercises of a martial life : he instructed him in the arts of government ; he made him study the history not only of his own kingdoms, but of those with which they were connected ; he accustomed him, from his fifteenth year, when he assumed the government of Flanders, to attend to business ; he persuaded him to peruse all papers relative to state affairs, to be present at the deliberations of his privy counsellors, and to propose to them himself those matters concerning which he required their opinion. From such an education, Charles contracted habits of gravity and recollection, which could not be expected from his time of life ; yet the first openings of his genius did not indicate that superiority which its maturer age displayed ; and though his subjects were dazzled with the external accomplishments of a graceful figure and manly address, his early obsequiousness

to Chievres, inspired them with no faint apprehensions that he would be the slave, and themselves the victim, of the arts and passions of his favourites.

It was at Bruffells that Charles received the intelligence of the death of Ferdinand; gratitude to his tutor had induced him to appoint Adrian of Utrecht regent of Spain; and Ximenes, instead of opposing the nomination, consented to acknowledge, and to carry on, the government, in conjunction with Adrian. But though he allowed the latter to possess a nominal dignity, and constantly treated him with respect, yet his superior abilities commanded the acquiescence of his colleague, and the whole power remained in his hands. Nor was it more than the critical juncture of affairs demanded; the feudal institutions, though shaken by Ferdinand, still subsisted; the nobles were still powerful, haughty, and warlike; the cities of Spain were numerous and considerable; the personal rights and political influence of the inhabitants of those cities were extensive; and those restraints which had been imposed by the sagacity and vigour of the late monarch, once withdrawn, faction and discontent were ready to break out with fiercer animosity.

But happily for Spain, the genius of Ximenes was equal to every difficulty. He fixed at Madrid, and narrowly observed, the infant Don Ferdinand,

dinand, who having been flattered with so near a prospect of supreme power, bore the disappointment of his hopes with greater impatience than a prince at so early an age could have been supposed to feel. A greater source of uneasiness accrued to him from his first dispatches from the Low Countries, by the advice of his Flemish ministers, Charles resolved to assume the title of king; as such, he prevailed on the Pope and the Emperor to address letters to him; and it was pretended that the former, as head of the church, and the latter, as head of the empire, had a right to confer this dignity. Instructions were immediately sent to Ximenes, to persuade the Spaniards to acknowledge this claim; but by the laws of Spain the sole right to the crowns of Castille and Arragon belonged to Joanna; and though her infirmities disqualified her from governing, her incapacity had not been declared by any public act of the Cortes in either kingdom; and the pretensions of Charles were considered by both nations not only as a direct violation of their privileges, but as an unnatural usurpation of a son on the prerogatives of a mother. Yet though Ximenes remonstrated against the measure as unpopular and unnecessary, he carried it into execution with vigour and promptitude.—
“ This day,” said he, in a firm and decisive tone, to the nobles who murmured, and talked about the rights of Joanna, “ Charles shall be proclaimed
“ King

“ King of Castille in Madrid ; and the rest of the
“ cities will, I doubt not, follow the example of
“ the capital.” Notwithstanding the secret discontent of many persons of rank, his orders were instantly obeyed, and Charles’s title recognised ; but the states of Arragon were less compliant ; the Archbishop of Saragossa, who was entrusted with the administration of that country, possessed not the energy or resolution of Ximenes ; nor was Charles acknowledged by the Arragonians by any other title but that of Prince, until his arrival in Spain.

Neither the precarious nature of his authority, nor the advanced time of his life, could check the bold and commanding spirit of Ximenes. To establish firmly, against the formidable pretensions of the nobility, the throne of his master, was his first and principal object. By the feudal constitution, the military power was lodged in the hands of the nobles, whom persons of an inferior condition followed into the field as vassals. On these potent barons the king relied in all his operations. From this state of dependence Ximenes resolved to deliver the Crown ; and as mercenary armies were still unknown in Castille, he issued a proclamation, commanding every city to enroll and train to arms a certain number of its burghesses. The frequent incursions of the Moors from Africa afforded a plausible pretence for this innovation,
but

but concealed not his intentions from the nobility. Instead of opposing openly the measures themselves, their emissaries excited the cities to disobedience ; and Charles and his Flemish ministers were alarmed by the remonstrances and insurrections of the citizens of Burgor and Valladolid.

But the Cardinal himself stood firm, amidst the rising apprehension ; he alternately availed himself of menaces and intreaties ; and no sooner had he insured submission, than he prepared to make use of the force he had acquired ; he ordered a strict inquiry to be made into the property of the Barons ; part of this consisted of grants obtained, or of lands wrested from the Crown during the moment of its weakness. To have traced back the origin of these encroachments, would have been almost impracticable.—The prudence of Ximenes confined him to the reign of Ferdinand ; he asserted that the pensions granted by that great monarch expired with his life ; he resumed the lands that had been alienated by him ; and though the disposition of the latter allowed him to indulge in few acts of generosity, yet as he had been raised to the throne by a faction, which had stipulated their recompense, the resumption was far from inconsiderable ; and when applied by the frugal economy of Ximenes, was not only sufficient to discharge the debts which Ferdinand had left, and to remit considerable sums to Flanders, but to pay the officers of his new militia,

litia, and to replenish the magazines with warlike stores of every description.

Yet these revocations were not made without frequent murmurs; and the nobles, alarmed at successive attacks, prepared to appeal against the decisions of the minister to the sword. Before they had recourse to extremities, they appointed some of their numbers to examine the powers, in consequence of which Ximenes exercised such high acts of authority. The testament of Ferdinand, and the ratification of that deed by Charles, were produced, and objected to by the Admiral of Castille, the Duke de Infantado, and the Count de Benevento, who had been entrusted with the commission. As the conversation grew warm, they were insensibly led by Ximenes towards a balcony, from which they had a view of a large body of troops under arms, and of a formidable train of artillery. "Behold," said he, pointing to these, and raising his voice, "the powers which I have received from his Catholic Majesty. With these I govern Castille, and with these I will govern it, until the king your master and mine takes possession of his kingdom." An answer so bold and haughty disconcerted the associates; to take arms against a man who was aware of his danger, would have only been to have precipitated their own destruction; all thoughts of confederacy were abandoned; and notwithstanding the secret resentment

ment of the nobles, and the more open jealousy of the Flemish ministers of Charles, Ximenes still continued to steer with a steady hand the vessel of the state, and to secure, by his sagacity and firmness, the tranquillity of Castille.

Two foreign wars served to augment his embarrassments, and to display his penetration and magnanimity. Navarre was invaded by its unfortunate monarch John d'Albret; but that prince, on the approach of the Spanish army, retired with precipitation; and the judgment of Ximenes was exercised in dismantling the towns and castles which were incapable of resisting an enemy, and only furnished them with places of retreat; Panipaluna, the capital, alone was spared, and the fortifications strengthened: to this precaution Spain probably owes the possession of Navarre; for though the French have since often overrun the country, yet destitute of any strong hold to retire to, they have been obliged, on the approach of the troops of Spain, to abandon their conquests with as much rapidity as they made them.

The expedition which the Cardinal had planned against Horuc Barbarossa, who, from a private corsair, had raised himself to be King of Algiers and Tunis, was not equally successful. The misconduct of the Spanish general, and the presumption of his troops, proved fatal to their hopes; many perished in the battle, more in the retreat;

but the disappointment served only to add fresh lustre to the character of Ximenes; and the admirable temper of mind with which he bore it, convinced the world that his fortitude was superior to the caprice of fortune.

Yet though he found resources against the foreign foes of the state, he was doomed at length to sink beneath the envy and malice of his private enemies. The character of Chievres was sullied by an ignoble and sordid avarice; he availed himself of his favour with Charles to expose to sale the most important appointments in Spain; his example was followed by the other Flemish courtiers; and every thing became venal, and was disposed of to the highest bidder; Ximenes failed not to inveigh with honest indignation against the disgraceful traffic, and to represent, in the strongest terms, the necessity of the royal presence in Spain; though the partiality of Charles for Chievres permitted him not to listen to the former part of the remonstrance, he was convinced of the propriety of the latter; powerful obstacles, however, prevented his immediate acquiescence with it. The war which had arisen from the holy league still subsisted, though the duration of it had abated the ardour, and nearly exhausted the strength, of the contending parties. It had been transmitted by Ferdinand to his grandson, who, as King of Spain, was in actual hostility with France. But Chievres, conscious of the advantages

vantages which his countrymen the Flemings derived from their commerce with the French, warmly recommended an accommodation ; he was himself entrusted with the negociation ; and the King of France, destitute of allies, and solicitous to secure his late conquests in Italy by a peace, listened with joy to the first overtures. A few days after the commissioners opened the conference at Noyon, they subscribed a treaty, which bore the name of the place where it was signed ; and of which the principal articles were, that Francis should give in marriage to Charles his eldest daughter the Princess Louisa, an infant of a year old ; and as her dōwry should make over to him all his claims and pretensions upon the kingdom of Naples ; that in consideration of Charles's being already in possession of Naples, he should, until the accomplishment of the marriage, pay one hundred thousand crowns a year to the King of France ; and the half of that sum annually as long as the princess had no children ; and that when Charles should arrive in Spain, the heirs of the King of Navarre, for John d'Albret had expired of chagrin, might represent to him their right to that kingdom, and if they obtained not satisfaction, Francis was left at liberty to assist him with his forces.

Such were the conditions of the treaty of Noyon, which were too favourable for France for her King to expect they would be long observed, and which

Charles

Charles probably would never have signed, had he not been desirous to secure a safe passage into his Spanish dominions. Yet, after the conclusion of it, the ascendancy of his Flemish favourites, who dreaded his interview with Ximenes, detained him above a year in the Netherlands; and it was only the repeated entreaties of the Cardinal, and the murmurs of the Spaniards, that prevailed on him at last to embark. He was accompanied by Chievres, and a splendid train of Spanish nobles; and after a dangerous voyage, he landed at Villaviciosa, in the province of Asturias, and was received with the loudest acclamations by his subjects, who had long languished for the presence of their sovereign.

No sooner was Ximenes informed of the arrival of Charles, than he advanced towards the coast to meet him. But at Bos Equillos, his journey was arrested by a violent indisposition, which his followers attributed to poison. They variously imputed it to the resentment of the Spanish nobles, or to the Flemish courtiers, who dreaded lest the wisdom, the integrity, and magnanimity of the Cardinal, might command the admiration and respect of a young monarch, capable himself of noble and generous sentiments. Yet the extreme old age of Ximenes seems to have rendered so black an expedient unnecessary; and his illness was probably the effect of fatigue and of increasing years and infirmities;

firmities; unable to travel, from his couch had dictated a letter to his sovereign, with his usual boldness; in which he advised him to dismiss the strangers in his train, whose numbers and credit already gave offence to the Spaniards, and would, ere long, alienate their affections. At the same time, he earnestly solicited an interview with the King, that he might inform him of the state of the nation, and the temper of his subjects. To prevent this, not only the Flemish, but the Spanish nobles, employed all their address; and while Ximenes had the mortification to find all his counsels neglected, and in the bitterness of disappointment foretold the calamities which impended over his country, from the insolence, the rapacity and ignorance of foreign minions, his anguish was augmented by a letter from the King, in which, after a few cold and formal expressions of regard, he was allowed to retire to his diocese, that, after a life of such continued labour he might end his days in tranquillity. He received not the message with his usual fortitude; probably his haughty mind could not brook disgrace; probably his generous spirit could not bear the misfortunes which menaced his country; he expired a few hours after reading the letter; and though the first news of his death was received by his sovereign with indifference, his more mature reflection could not refuse his admiration to the variety,

the grandeur, and the success of the plans of Ximenes; whose reputation still is high in Spain, not only for wisdom but for sanctity; and who is the only prime minister mentioned in history, whom his contemporaries revered as a saint, and to whom the people under his government ascribed the power of working miracles.

A. D. 1518, Charles had scarce entered Valladolid, before he was awakened to the loss he had sustained in the death of the Cardinal; the Cortes of Castille, which had been summoned to meet him, consented to acknowledge him formally as King in conjunction with his mother; but they appointed the name of Joanna to be placed in all public acts before that of her son; and they declared, that if at any future period she should recover the use of her reason, the whole royal authority should return into her hands. With less reluctance they voted a free gift of six hundred thousand ducats to be paid in three years; a sum more than had been granted to any former monarch.— Yet though the states indulged in these acts of loyalty and compliance, the symptoms of discontent throughout the kingdom were manifest. Charles himself spoke the Spanish language imperfectly; his answers were consequently short, and often delivered with hesitation. Thence many of the Spaniards were influenced to believe him a prince of slow and narrow genius; some pretended to discover
a strong

a strong resemblance between him and his unhappy mother; and all concurred in condemning his attachment and partiality to his Flemish favourites. These engrossed, or exposed to sale, every appointment; and so indefatigable was their rapacity, that they are reported to have remitted to the Low Countries, in the space of ten months, no less a sum than eleven hundred thousand ducats. The ascendancy of Chievres over the mind of the youthful prince was not only that of a tutor but of a parent; and the nomination of his nephew William de Croy, a young man, not of canonical age, to the Archbishopric of Toledo, was considered not only as an injury but an insult to the whole nation; it united the murmurs of the clergy and laity; the former exclaiming against it from interest, the latter from indignation.

From Castille Charles pursued his rout to Saragossa, to be present in the Assembly of the states of Arragon. Before his departure, to prevent any dangers from the intrigues or ambition of his brother Ferdinand, he sent him into Germany, under the pretence of visiting their grandfather Maximilian. He found the Cortes of Arragon less tractable than those of Castille; it was with difficulty they were prevailed on to recognize his title of King, in conjunction with his mother; they limited their liberality to a grant of two hundred thousand ducats; and even that was not voted until he had

bound himself by a solemn oath never to violate their ancient rights. The Assembly of Catalonia were still more tardy, and less generous in their supplies; while the Castilians, roused by their example, resolved no longer to submit with tameness to the oppressive schemes of the Flemings. Segovia, Toledo, Seville, and several other great cities, entered into a confederacy for the defence of their peculiar privileges; they remonstrated with boldness against the preferment of strangers, the exportation of the current coin, and the increase of taxes; and by these early measures, they first laid the foundation of that famous union among the Commons of Castille, which not long after threw the kingdom into such violent convulsions as shook the throne, and almost overturned the constitution.

Charles might turn with neglect from the remonstrances of his subjects, but he was forced to receive with some external marks of respect those of his allies. The Ambassadors of Francis the First, and the young King of Navarre, demanded, according to the treaty of Noyon, the restitution of that kingdom. But neither the monarch himself, nor his Castilian nobles, whom he consulted on this occasion, discovered any inclination to part with that acquisition. A fruitless conference was held soon after at Montpellier, in order to bring this matter to an amicable issue; but while the
French

French urged the injustice of the usurpation, the Spaniards were attentive only to its importance.

While this discussion seemed to menace the tranquillity of France and Spain, a new event served to inflame the jealousy of their respective Sovereigns. The death of the Emperor Maximilian left vacant the imperial throne ; and by the Italian wars, the European princes had been instructed in the advantages which might be derived from that dignity. Not long before his death, Maximilian had endeavoured to transmit it in the house of Austria, and to procure the King of Spain to be chosen as his successor ; but he himself having never been crowned by the Pope, a ceremony deemed essential in that age, was considered only as Emperor *elect*, and styled *King of the Romans* ; and no example occurring in history of any person being chosen a successor to a King of the Romans, the Germans, always tenacious of their forms, had obstinately refused to accede to the wishes of Maximilian.

His death removed that obstacle ; and Charles openly aspired to the imperial crown. The long continuance of it in the house of Austria, and the negotiations of Maximilian, had prepared the minds of the Germans for his elevation. But what he chiefly relied on was, the fortunate situation of his hereditary dominions on the banks of the Danube, which presented a natural barrier to the em-

pire against the encroachments of the Turkish power. The conquests, the abilities, and the ambition of Selim the Second, had spread a general alarm throughout Europe; he had added Syria and Egypt to his empire, and was ready to turn his arms against Christendom. To stop the progress of this torrent, Charles enforced the necessity of electing an Emperor, who, to extensive territories in that country, where the impression would first be felt, joined the resources of a powerful monarchy, and an ample revenue from the mines of the new world, and the commerce of the Low Countries. A formidable rival, however, entered the lists against him; and Francis, already renowned for his gallantry and victory in the battle of Marignano, declared himself a candidate for the imperial dignity. His emissaries contended, that it was high time to convince the princes of the House of Austria that the crown was elective, and not hereditary; that a king who, in his early youth, had triumphed over the valour and discipline of the Swiss, until then reckoned invincible, would be an antagonist worthy the conqueror of the East; and instead of waiting the approach of the Ottoman forces, might carry hostilities into the heart of their dominions. They urged that the election of Charles would be inconsistent with a fundamental constitution, by which the person who holds the crown of Naples is excluded from the imperial

rial

rial throne; and sensible of the prejudices that might be entertained against Francis as a foreigner, they endeavoured to gain the electors by immense gifts, and boundless promises. As the expeditious method of transmitting money, and the decent mode of conveying a bribe, by bills of exchange, were then little known, the French Ambassadors travelled with a train of horses loaded with treasure; an equipage, not very honourable for that prince by whom they were employed, and infamous for those to whom they were sent.

The common interests of the other European princes ought to have combined them in disappointing the interests of both competitors, and preventing either of them from attaining a dangerous pre-eminence. But the passions of some, and the want of foresight in others, hindered such a salutary union. Henry the Eighth of England, who had often boasted that he held the balance of Europe in his hand, after vainly declaring himself a candidate, had withdrawn from the hopeless contest, and involved in a fastidious contemplation of his own importance, maintained a negligent neutrality. The Swiss were prompted by their recollection of the disastrous field of Marignano, to give an open preference to the pretensions of Charles; the Venetians were instigated by their jealousy of the house of Austria, whose ambition and neighbourhood had been fatal to their grandeur, to sanc-

tion the claim of Francis; while Leo the Tenth, who then filled the apostolic chair, weighed with a solicitude worthy of his penetration, the dangers which might arise from the choice of either of the contending monarchs; he foretold that the election of each would alike be fatal to the independence of the holy see, to the peace of Italy, and perhaps to the liberties of Europe; and he secretly exhorted the German princes to place one of their own number on the imperial throne, many of whom were capable of filling it with honour.

The counsels of Leo were too sage not to make some impression; the diet was opened in form at Frankfort; and the seven great princes, the Archbishops of Mentz, of Cologne, and of Triers, the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Marquis of Brandenburg, whose various offices invested them, under the title of electors, with the right of choosing a sovereign, notwithstanding the artful arguments produced by the Ambassadors of the two kings, did not forget that the first principle of German policy was to limit the power of the Emperor; and that the choice of either of the contending monarchs would have given to the empire a master instead of an head; and would have reduced themselves from the rank of his equals to the condition of his subjects.

Impressed

Impressed by these ideas, they turned their eyes on Frederick Duke of Saxony, a prince of such eminent virtue and abilities, as to be distinguished by the name of *Sage*, and with one voice offered him the imperial crown. His answer proved him worthy of the enviable distinction he had attained; and while he rejected the alluring proposal, he advised them to commit the sceptre to some more powerful hand. “In times of tranquillity,” said he, “we wish for an emperor who has not power
“to invade our liberties; times of danger demand
“one who is able to secure our safety. The Turkish
“armies are ready to pour in upon Germany with
“a violence unknown in former ages; to oppose
“them we must have recourse to one of the rival
“monarchs; but as the King of Spain is of German
“extraction, and a member of the empire; as
“his dominions stretch along that frontier which
“lies most exposed to the enemy; his claim is
“preferable to that of a stranger to our language,
“to our blood, and to our country.” The disinterested voice of Frederic decided the important contest; no prince in Germany could aspire to a dignity which he had declined for reasons applicable to them all; after a suspense of above five months, the Archbishop of Triers, the only firm adherent to the French interest, yielded to the remonstrances of his brethren; Charles was
by

by the unanimous voice of the electoral college raised to the imperial throne; while Francis, after exhausting his coffers, had the mortification of beholding a young and inexperienced prince preferred to the conqueror of Milan.

Chapter the Twelfth.

Discontent of Spain—Establishment of the Germanada in Valencia—Remonstrances of the Castilians—Departure of Charles for Germany—He nominates Adrian Regent of Castille—He lands in England, and gains the friendship of Henry—He receives the Imperial Crown at Aix-la-Chapelle—State of Germany—Decreasing Influence of the See of Rome—Doctrines of Luther—Their Progress—Luther renounces the Authority of the Pope—Diet assembled at Worms by the Emperor to maintain the ancient Religion—Conduct of Charles—Dissensions in Castille—Injudicious Measures of Adrian—Association of the principal Cities, under the Name of the Junta—They possess themselves of the Person of Joanna—They divest Adrian of all Authority—Their Remonstrance—Union of the Crown and Nobles against them—Misconduct of their General Don Pedro de Giron—They are defeated under Padilla—Magnanimous Behaviour and Death of Padilla—The Junta is dissolved—Resistance of the City of Toledo, and of Donna Maria, the Widow of Pacheco—Comotions in Valencia—Defeat and Extinction of the Germanada.

A. D. 1519. **AT** Barcelona, Charles received the news of his election to the imperial throne, with that

that joy which is natural to a young and aspiring mind. But his promotion was far from imparting the same satisfaction to his Spanish subjects; they dreaded the absence of their sovereign; they predicted that their blood and treasures would be lavished in support of German politics; and they dwelt with pleasure on the fortitude and public spirit of their ancestors, who, in the Cortes of Castille, prohibited Alfonso the Wise from leaving the kingdom, to assume the proffered crown of the empire. A sullen and refractory disposition prevailed among persons of all ranks; the nobles of Valencia refused to admit the Cardinal Adrian as the royal representative, and firmly declared, that by the fundamental laws of the country, they could not grant any subsidy to an absent sovereign; exasperated by their obstinacy, Charles countenanced the people who had risen against the privileges of the Valencian barons; he rashly authorised them to continue in arms; and the association, which, with his sanction, they entered into, under the name of *Germanada*, or *Brotherhood*, proved the source of the most fatal calamities to the kingdom.

Castille was not agitated with less violence; the principal cities resolved to remonstrate against the intended departure of the King for Germany; and Charles, conscious of their disposition, instead of Valladolid, summoned the Cortes to meet at Compostella,

postella, a town of Galicia, where he thought he should be more secure than amidst the high-spirited inhabitants of the former city. But the expedient was far from answering his expectations; every town he passed through presented a petition against the innovation; and though he remained inflexible, yet it was not until after a violent opposition, and every artifice had been employed to gain the nobles, that he obtained from the Cortes that donative which had been his object in assembling them. Even the contagion of discontent spread through the ecclesiastical order. The Pope had granted the King the tenth of benefices in Castille, to assist him in carrying on war with greater vigour against the Turks; but a convocation of the clergy unanimously refused to levy that sum, under pretence that it ought never to be exacted, but when Christendom was actually invaded by the infidels; and though Leo, in order to support his authority, laid the kingdom under an interdict, so little regard was paid to a censure which was universally deemed unjust, that the King was reduced to the mortification of applying himself to have it taken off.

Amidst these general marks of disaffection, Charles having obtained those subsidies which were necessary for him to appear in Germany with splendour suited to the imperial dignity, resolved not to retard his departure; he nominated, as regent, during his absence, the Cardinal Adrian; and conferred

ferred the viceroyalty of Arragon on Don John de Lanuza, and that of Valencia, on Don Diego de Mendoza, Count of Melito. The appointment of the two latter was universally acceptable; but though Adrian was the least obnoxious of the Flemings, the Castilian pride was deeply wounded by the preference of a stranger to their own nobility; and the injudicious choice served to inflame that hatred to foreigners, which had long formed a prominent feature of the national character.

A. D. 1520, Without regarding their murmurs,
1521. Charles, about the middle of May, embarked at Corunna for the Netherlands, on his route to Germany; but conscious of the seeds of hostility which still survived between himself and the King of France, he was peculiarly desirous of acquiring the alliance of Henry the Eighth of England, whose possession of Calais served not only as a key to France, but opened a ready road into the Low Countries, and rendered him the natural arbiter between the rival monarchs. But vain, imperious, and haughty, a slave to his own passions, or to the arts of his favourites, Henry, in his friendship for foreign powers, was more frequently influenced by resentment than by policy; to display magnificence, and indulge his love of pleasure, he had agreed to an interview with the French King between Guisnes and Ardres; and Charles, to disappoint the effects of it, and previously

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ously engage his favour, steered directly from Corrunna to England, and landed at Dover; Henry hastened to receive, with every distinction, his illustrious guest; and though the latter, to whom time was precious, staid only four days, he contrived in that space to give the King of England favourable impressions of his disposition and intentions, and to attach to his interest Wolsey, his favourite and minister; a man who, from the lowest rank of life, had ascended to an height which no English subject had ever before attained, and who governed the untractable spirit of Henry with absolute authority. To gratify his avarice, Charles settled on him a pension of seven thousand ducats; and to flatter his ambition, he engaged, in case of the death of Leo the Tenth, to promote his succession to the apostolic chair; Wolsey eagerly grasped at the offer, and obtained a promise from his sovereign, that after the interview with Francis at Guisnes, he would return the visit of Charles in the Low Countries.

The tranquillity of the Netherlands afforded Charles a short respite from business; he could not but compare with pleasure the respect and obedience with which he was received in his native country, to the resistance he had encountered in Spain. A few weeks after his arrival, he hastened to Gravelines to meet, according to appointment, the King of England. The interview between

the two monarchs was conducted with less pomp than that of Guisnes, but with greater attention to political interest. Charles offered to submit any dispute which might arise between Francis and himself to the arbitration of Henry ; and by the deference which he seemed to pay to the opinion of the latter, effaced all the impressions which the frank and liberal nature of his rival had made ; he also renewed his engagements with Wolsey, and again flattered the hopes of that aspiring favourite with the prospect of the papacy.

Satisfied with these precautions, Charles suffered not his partiality for his native country to detain him longer in the Netherlands ; he pursued his route to Aix-la-Chapelle, the place appointed for his coronation ; there, in presence of an assembly more numerous than had appeared on any former occasion, the crown of Charlemagne was placed on his head, with all the pompous solemnity which the Germans affect in their public ceremonies, and which they deem essential to the dignity of their empire.

From the imperial throne, Charles could not, without satisfaction, contemplate the vast dominions which were subjugated to his sway ; Germany, by election, acknowledged him for her head ; he reaped the succession of Castille, of Aragon, of Austria, and of the Netherlands ; he inherited the conquest of Naples and Granada ;
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even the bounds of the globe seemed to have been enlarged, that he might possess the unrifled treasures of the new world. The ardour for discovery had not expired with Columbus ; the same spirit of adventure still inflamed the breasts of the Spaniards ; and the year which beheld Charles invested with the imperial purple, witnessed the conquest of the rich and extensive kingdom of Mexico, by Fernando Cortes. Yet the Emperor was soon recalled to a sense of the disadvantages which accompanied these acquisitions; his territories lay distant, and disjointed ; his authority over his subjects was far from absolute ; strangers to each other's customs, laws, and language, they were sometimes actuated by hatred, always by jealousy ; and with reluctance seconded the designs of their mutual master.

To the embarrassments that arose from the discordant parts of which the empire of Charles was composed, were added those which spring from a difference in religious opinions. According to the doctrines of the Romish church all the good works of the saints, above those which were necessary for their own justification, together with the infinite merits of Christ, are entrusted to St. Peter, and his successors the Popes ; who, by transferring a portion of them, might convey to any person the pardon of his sins, or deliver the soul of any one deceased out of purgatory ; these grants,

which obtained the name of *indulgences*, were first invented in the eleventh century by Urban the Second, as a recompense for the adventurers who had engaged in the conquest of the holy land; in process of time, they were imparted to those who contributed to any pious work enjoined by the Pope; and Leo the Tenth, under the pretence of completing the splendid fabric of the church of St. Peter, by the sale of them, provided a fund for the support of his magnificent spirit. But the indiscretion and indecent manner in which his agents promulgated them in Germany, could not but shock every man of sense and real piety, while the princes and nobles of that country were exasperated at beholding their vassals drained of their wealth to supply the demands of a profuse Pontiff. It was at this critical juncture, that Martin Luther, a native of Saxony, of vigorous understanding and undaunted disposition, arose to combat the fallacious promises, and to resist the oppressions of the see of Rome. Disgusted with the subtle and uninstruative sciences of scholastic philosophy and theology, he had devoted himself with eagerness and assiduity to the study of the bible; he had beheld with concern the artifices of those who sold, and the simplicity of those who bought, indulgences; he found the scriptures, which he began to consider as the great standard of truth, afforded no countenance to a practice equally subversive of faith and morals. His warm
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and impetuous temper suffered him not long to conceal such important discoveries, or to continue a silent spectator of the delusion of his countrymen. He had been chosen to teach philosophy in the university of Wittemberg, and from the great church of that city he bitterly inveighed against the irregularities and vices of the monks who trafficked in salvation. He was secretly encouraged by his sovereign, the elector of Saxony, the wisest prince at that time in Germany, and who hoped that his invectives might give some check to the exactions of the holy see, which the secular princes had long, without success, been endeavouring to oppose.

His doctrines, recommended by truth and novelty, were eagerly embraced; and the rapid progress of them roused at length Leo from his schemes of policy and pleasure to the defence of the church. In compliance with the solicitations of the elector of Saxony, he dispensed with the appearance of Luther at Rome, and empowered his legate in Germany, Cardinal Cajetan, to hear and determine the cause. The latter, instead of listening to the arguments of Luther, insisted peremptorily on a recantation of all that he had advanced; and Luther, who had steadily refused to renounce opinions which he believed to be true, instead of submitting, according to a form of which there had been some examples, appealed to the Pope,

ill informed at that time concerning his cause, to the pope, when he should receive more full information with respect to it.

However Leo might be enraged at this proceeding, the death of Maximilian served to suspend the thunders of the Vatican. The Roman pontiff considered himself more interested in the election of an Emperor, than in a theological controversy which he did not understand, and could not foresee the consequences of. He was conscious how warmly Frederic of Saxony espoused the patronage of Luther, and he was unwilling to offend a prince of such considerable influence in the electoral college. But no sooner was the imperial crown placed on the head of Charles, than the attention of the Pope was again directed towards Luther; and after various delays, a bull was fulminated against him, in which his writings were condemned, himself pronounced an heretic; and all secular princes were enjoined, under the penalty of being involved in his sentence of excommunication, to seize his person, that he might be punished as his crimes deserved.

Hitherto Luther was far from having entertained any intention of disclaiming the Papal authority; but being now persuaded that Leo had been guilty both of impiety and injustice against him, he boldly declared the Pope to be that man of sin, or antichrist, whose appearance is foretold in the

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New Testament ; and he exhorted all Christian princes to shake off the ignominious yoke, and to assert the liberty of mankind. However daring such language might appear, many circumstances combined to prepare for it a favourable reception ; the profligate morals and ungovernable ambition of the Popes Alexander the Sixth, and Julius the Second ; the vices and licentious lives of the inferior clergy ; the facility with which they obtained the pardon of their crimes ; the enormous wealth of the church, and the gradual encroachments of the papal see, which had usurped the right of conferring benefices through Germany, all tended to lessen the veneration for, and excite the indignation of, the Germans, against the pretensions of the Vatican ; thus prepossessed, they listened with avidity to the doctrines of Luther, and read the anathemas of Leo with more contempt than terror.

Though the progress of reform in the minds of the people had been considerable when Charles arrived in Germany, yet no secular prince had hitherto embraced the opinions of Luther, and no change had been introduced in the established form of worship. The first act of the Emperor's administration was to appoint a diet at Worms ; and in his circular letters to the different princes, he informed them, that the object of it was to check the new and dangerous doctrines which threatened

to disturb the peace of the empire, and to overturn the religion of their ancestors.

Such important subjects could not fail of producing a full assembly ; but though the Emperor, desirous of securing Leo as an ally in the war which he expected with France, was willing to have treated Luther with severity, yet the diet refused to condemn him unheard. They required his personal appearance, and granted him a safe conduct for his security. He presented himself before them with equal decency and firmness ; and maintained his opinions with a resolution neither to be shaken by threats nor entreaties ; he was permitted to depart in safety ; but a few days after he left the city, an edict was published, in the Emperor's name, and with the sanction of the diet, forbidding any prince to harbour or protect him, and requiring all to concur in seizing his person as soon as the term specified in his safe conduct was expired ; the effects of it was, however, eluded by the address of the elector of Saxony ; who conveyed Luther to, and concealed him in the Castle of Wartburgh ; and the attention of the Emperor was soon diverted from religious controversy to matters which appeared more interesting, and more worthy his immediate attention.

A. D. 1520, Charles had scarce embarked at Co-
 1522. runna, before the embers of Discon-
 tent, which had been cherished in the principal
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cities of Spain, burst out into open flame. No sooner was it known that the Cortes assembled in Galicia had voted the Emperor a *free gift*, without obtaining the redress of any one grievance, than it excited universal indignation. The citizens of Toledo, who considered themselves as the peculiar guardians of Castilian freedom, took arms; with tumultuary violence attacked the citadel, and forced the governor to surrender; they established a popular form of government, composed of deputies from the several parishes in the city; they levied troops; and chose as their leader, Don Juan de Padilla, the eldest son of the commendator of Castille; a young man of daring and ambitious spirit, and whose liberality had endeared him to the populace.

The resentment of the citizens of Segovia hurried them into more criminal excesses; Tordeillas, one of their representatives in the late Cortes, had the imprudent boldness to endeavour to justify his conduct; but the fury of the multitude suffered him not long to proceed; he was seized, dragged through the streets, amidst a thousand curses and insults, and without being allowed even the short respite necessary to receive absolution, was hung with his head downwards on the common gibbet.

Burgos, Zamora, and several other cities, were agitated by the same spirit of resentment; and Adrian trembled in Valladolid at the rapid pro-

gress of insurrection. Two opinions divided the council; and while one party insisted on the necessity of employing force, the other remonstrated on the danger of driving the people to despair by ill-timed acts of rigour. The natural disposition of Adrian inclined to lenity; but his zeal to support his master's authority, and the influence of the Archbishop of Grenada, a prelate austere and haughty, precipitated him into measures to which he was otherwise averse. Ronquillo, one of the king's judges, stern and unforgiving, with a considerable body of troops, was ordered to repair to Segovia, and to proceed against the delinquents. His known temper assured the Segovians they had little to hope from his mercy; they took up arms with one consent, and shut the gates against him. Enraged at this insult, Ronquillo pronounced them rebels and outlaws, and seized the avenues which led to the town; but while he awaited the moment when famine should oblige them to surrender, he himself was attacked by Padilla who had marched with a considerable detachment from Toledo, and was compelled to retire, with the loss of his baggage and military chest.

Adrian had, however, advanced too far in compulsory measures to recede: on the news of the defeat of Ronquillo, he ordered Antonio de Fonseca, commander in chief in Castille, to assemble an army, and besiege Segovia in form. To fulfil
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this commission, Fonseca endeavoured to draw a train of artillery from Medina del Campo, where Ximenes had established his principal magazine of military stores ; but the inhabitants refused to suffer those arms which had been prepared against the enemies of the kingdom, to be employed in the destruction of their countrymen. Fonseca, who possessed those high notions of obedience which are common to the military profession, exasperated at their resistance, assaulted the town, and to divert the attention of the citizens, commanded his soldiers to set fire to some of the houses ; the flames spread rapidly ; great part of the town was consumed ; the warehouses, which were full of goods for the approaching mart of Segovia, were involved in the conflagration. Fonseca became the object of general detestation; even the citizens of Valladolid, whom hitherto the presence of the regent had restrained, caught the contagion ; they burnt Fonseca's house to the ground ; and with the same ardour as the other cities, levied soldiers, and elected new magistrates.

Adrian, nursed in peace and literature, possessed neither the courage nor the sagacity necessary at such a dangerous juncture. To appease the people, he disavowed the conduct of Fonseca ; the exhausted state of the treasury compelled him to disband the greatest part of the troops ; and the multitude, encouraged by his condescension, were

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at the same time delivered from the awe of military control.

Amidst the rage of the populace, the leaders of the commons nourished views worthy of their zeal, the redress of grievances, and the establishment of public liberty. The present moment was favourable to their pretensions; the great cities of Spain were numerous, and possessed of valuable immunities and privileges; the genius of their internal government was naturally democratical; the absence of their sovereign, the ill conduct of his ministers, the resentment of the people, the exhausted state of the treasury, the feeble condition of the army, and the government committed to a stranger, virtuous indeed, but of abilities unequal to the trust, all conspired to animate them to new claims. The first care of Padilla, and the other popular chiefs, was to establish a bond of union among the malecontents. A general convention of the different cities which had taken arms, was appointed to be held at Avila; and almost all that were entitled to have representatives in the Cortes, sent thither their deputies. They bound themselves by a solemn oath, to live and die in the service of their King, and in defence of the privileges of their order; and assuming the name of the holy *Junta*, or association, proceeded to deliberate concerning the state of the nation. As the nomination of a foreigner to be regent was considered a viola-

violation of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, they resolved to send a deputation of their members to Adrian, requiring him to abstain from the future exercise of a jurisdiction which they had pronounced illegal.

While they prepared to execute this resolution, their cause received no inconsiderable accession of strength and lustre from the successful enterprise of Padilla: after relieving Segovia, he marched suddenly to Tordesillas, where the unhappy Joanna had resided since the death of Philip; he was admitted by the inhabitants into the town; and presenting himself before the Queen, with that profound respect which she exacted from the few persons whom she suffered to approach her, he informed her of the miserable condition of her Castilian subjects, under the government of her son. As if awakened from a lethargy, Joanna expressed her astonishment at the intelligence; declared that their sufferings could not be imputed to her, since she had never heard of the death of her father; and added, “until I can provide a sufficient remedy, let it be your care to do what is necessary for the public welfare.” The words were readily seized by Padilla, who, mistaking this lucid interval for a perfect return of reason, apprised the Junta of it, and prevailed on them to remove to Tordesillas. But though Joanna graciously received their address, she soon relapsed into her former

former melancholy, and never could be persuaded to sign any paper for the dispatch of business.

Though the Junta could not but feel, they yet endeavoured to conceal the disappointment; they still carried on their deliberations in the name of the Queen; and the intelligence of her supposed recovery was received by the people with a transport of joy. The commons availed themselves of the increase of power and reputation which they had thus acquired; and detached Padilla to Valladolid to bring away the seals of the kingdom, and the public archives. He was received by the citizens as the deliverer of his country; executed his commission with great exactness; and though he permitted Adrian to reside at Valladolid in the capacity of a private person, he was careful to strip him of all marks of authority.

Frequent accounts had been transmitted to Charles of these transactions; but though he beheld with concern the most valuable of his territories on the verge of a civil war, he could not return immediately to Spain, without endangering the imperial crown. Thus embarrassed, before he had recourse to force, he resolved to try the effect of indulgence and concessions. He issued circular orders to all the cities of Castille, exhorting them, with assurances of pardon, to lay down their arms. To those who continued faithful, or returned to their duty, he promised not to exact
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subsidy granted in the late Cortes ; and he engaged that no office should be conferred in future, but upon native Castilians ; but at the same time he wrote to the nobles, to excite them to defend their own rights, and those of the Crown, against the exorbitant claims of the commons ; and he appointed the High Admiral Don Fabrique Enriquez, and the High Constable of Castille, Don Inigo de Valesco, two noblemen of great abilities and influence, to act as regents in conjunction with Adrian, if the obstinacy of the commons rendered it necessary, to vindicate the royal authority by arms.

But the Junta, relying on the unanimous concurrence of the cities of Spain, were far from being satisfied with the same redress as they had demanded before the departure of Charles ; they now aimed at a more thorough reformation of political abuses ; and the objects they aspired to were published, in a remonstrance drawn up with equal care and boldness. After stating the various calamities under which the nation groaned, and which had compelled them to assemble to provide for the constitution, they demanded that the king should return, and reside in his Spanish dominions ; that he should not marry, but with consent of the Cortes ; that on any necessary absence, he should not appoint a foreigner regent ; that he should not introduce or suffer the naturalization of any stranger ; and that those who were not natives of Castille,
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and possessed at present any public office, should immediately resign it; that neither free quarters should be granted to soldiers, nor to members of the royal household, for a longer time than six days; and that only when the court was on a journey. That all taxes should be reduced to the same state they were in at the death of Queen Isabella; that all alienations of the royal revenue since that Queen's death, should be resumed. That in all future Cortes, each city should send one representative of the clergy, one of the gentry, and one of the commons; each to be elected by his own order; that no member should receive office or pension from the king; and that the Cortes should be assembled once in three years, whether summoned by the king or not, to enforce the faithful execution of these articles, and deliberate on the state of the nation.

Such were the principal concessions which the commons endeavoured to extort from the Crown; and in addition to these, they demanded that all privileges which the nobles had at any time obtained, to the prejudice of the commons, should be revoked; that they should not hereafter be nominated to the government of cities or towns; and that their possessions should be subject to all public taxes, in the same manner as those of the people in general. But the latter articles probably proved fatal to the hopes they had entertained of establishing

ing the former. The grandees of Spain, who, instead of obstructing, had connived at their proceedings, while they confined their demands of redress to such grievances as had been occasioned by the king's want of experience, or the rapacity of his foreign ministers, were filled with indignation, when they saw the privileges of their own order invaded, and perceived the measures of the commons tended no less to break the power of the aristocracy, than that of the crown. Their resentment at the appointment of Adrian had been softened by the nomination of the constable and admiral to act in conjunction with him; and as they chose rather to submit to their prince than the people, they determined to assemble their vassals in defence of the throne.

In the mean time, a new circumstance served to exasperate the Junta. The deputies they had appointed to present their remonstrance to the Emperor, were informed they could not proceed to Germany without endangering their lives; their return excited such indignation, as transported the party of the commons beyond the bounds of moderation; that a King of Castille should deny his subjects access into his presence, was represented as an act of tyranny unprecedented and intolerable. Many warmly insisted on depriving Charles, during the life of his mother, of the regal titles and authority which had been too rashly conferred upon him,

him, from a supposition of her incapacity for government; others proposed to supply her want of ability by marrying her to the heir of the Arragonefe Kings of Naples; but all agreed they had remained too long inactive; and that it was necessary to exert themselves with vigour in opposing this fatal combination of the King and the nobility against their liberties.

Twenty thousand men ranged themselves under their standard; but it was not easy to determine to whom the chief command should be assigned; the inclinations of the people and the soldiers were united in favour of Padilla; but Don Pedro de Giron, the eldest son of the Count of Uruena, who had lately joined the commons, out of private resentment to the Emperor, was preferred by the Junta, on account of his illustrious birth; it soon appeared that he possessed neither experience nor abilities equal to the important trust; at Rioneco the regents had drawn together a considerable body of veteran troops from Navarre; their cavalry was composed chiefly of gentlemen, accustomed to the military life, and animated with the martial spirit peculiar to their order in that age; and they were commanded by the Count de Haro, the constable's eldest son, an officer of approved merit; yet Giron, confiding in his superior numbers, advanced to Rioseco, seized the avenues, and attempted to cut off the provisions of the royalists; disapp-

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disappointed in this design, by a considerable convoy which past safe through his posts, he suddenly turned aside to Villa-penda, where the enemy had established their principal magazines. This motion left Tordefillas open to the Count de Haro, who failed not to profit of the error of his adversary: marching rapidly to that town, he surprised and cut to pieces the regiment of priests, who had been left to guard it; made himself master of the person of the Queen, and of several members of the Junta; and recovered the great seal, with the other insignia of government.

The success of the enterprise elated as much the party of the regents, as it depressed that of the Commons; to the embarrassments which the latter found from the loss of the Queen's name, was added their suspicion of the conduct of Giron; they accused him of having betrayed Tordefillas; and readily permitted him to resign the command of the army, and to retire to one of his castles.

The appointment of Padilla to succeed him, restored the spirits of the soldiers; new levies daily crowded to his standard; and the party of the Junta again raised its head. The bold counsels of Donna Maria, the wife of Padilla, relieved them from the distress which the want of money had occasioned; superior to superstitious fears, she proposed to seize the rich ornaments in the cathedral of Toledo; to avoid the imputation of sacrilege,

She marched with her retinue to the church in solemn procession; implored the pardon of the saints whose shrines she prepared to violate; and by this artifice, diverted the people from considering too minutely the action. The regents, who laboured under the same wants, but dared not have recourse to the same expedients, with difficulty raised a scanty supply from the Queen's jewels, and the plate of the nobility, and by negotiating a small loan in Portugal.

After an ineffectual attempt to compromise by treaty their various pretensions, both armies took the field; that of the commons, under Padilla, stormed Torrelobaton, a place of considerable strength and importance; and had they marched to Tordeillas, might probably have surprised the royalists, before their troops were united; but the Junta imprudently listened again to overtures of peace; many of the followers of Padilla, disgusted with inaction, or desirous of securing the booty they had acquired, retired from his camp; and when hostilities were resumed, and the royalists advanced to recover Torrelobaton, disheartened by the desertion of his soldiers, Padilla endeavoured to retreat to Toro; but before he could reach the walls of that city, the appearance of the Count de Haro, at the head of his cavalry, compelled him to stop. The troops of the Junta were fatigued and dismayed: the ground on which they had halted

halted was deep and miry ; they were vanquished by their own fears ; and on the first charge, they fled in the utmost confusion. After vainly attempting to rally them, Padilla, accompanied by his principal officers, rushed into the thickest of the enemy, was wounded, dismounted, and taken prisoner. The resentment of his enemies did not long suffer him to linger in confinement ; without even the formality of a trial, he was instantly led to execution, with Don John Bravo, the commander of the Segovians. He viewed the approach of death with calm but undaunted fortitude ; and when his fellow sufferer expressed some indignation at hearing himself proclaimed a traitor, he checked him, by observing, “ that yesterday was
“ the time to have displayed the spirit of gentle-
“ men, this day to die with the meekness of Chris-
“ tians.” In his last letter to his wife, written a few minutes before he suffered, he displayed a spirit superior to his fate ; in that to his native city of Toledo, he exulted in the cause for which he was doomed to die ; without endeavouring to procrastinate, he submitted quietly to the stroke of the executioner ; and though the Spanish writers, attached to regal government, have endeavoured to blacken his character, yet his generous spirit has been elegantly delineated, and the purity of his intentions amply vindicated, by the unprejudiced pen of a foreign historian.

The vengeance of the regents and the nobles was satisfied with the blood of the chiefs; the multitude were dismissed with contempt; the cities of Castille returned to their obedience; and the strength of the Junta was entirely dissolved. The city of Toledo alone, worthy the birth and last correspondence of Padilla, and animated by the presence of his widow Maria, continued to brave the royal authority. Their admiration for her courage and abilities, their sympathy for her misfortunes, and their veneration for the memory of her husband, secured to her long the same ascendancy over the minds of the citizens as he himself had possessed; to maintain it, she employed every artifice which her fertile genius suggested. She ordered crucifixes to be used by her troops instead of colours, as if they had been at war with infidels, and the enemies of their religion; she marched through the streets of Toledo, with her infant son, clad in deep mourning, seated on a mule, with a standard before him, representing the manner of his father's execution. For six months, by these expedients, she kept alive the passions of the citizens, defended the town with vigour, and routed in repeated sallies the royalists; and when her influence over the populace was undermined by the hostile arts of the clergy, who never forgave the manner in which she had despoiled the cathedral, she retired to the citadel; which with amazing fortitude she

maintained for four months longer; and at last made her escape in disguise, and fled to her relations in Portugal.

Though the spirit of revolt which had agitated Castille, was diffused through Arragon, the prudent conduct of Don John de Lanusa prevented it from breaking forth into open insurrection. But the kingdom of Valencia was rent by intestine commotions the most violent; the association which had been formed under the name of the Germanada, availed themselves of the sanction which Charles had rashly granted them, and refused to lay down their arms. Their resentment was rather directed against the nobles than the crown; they drove the former out of their cities, plundered their houses, wasted their lands, and assaulted their castles. Their councils, as well as troops, were conducted by low mechanics, who acquired the confidence of an enraged multitude, chiefly by the fierceness of their zeal, and the extravagance of their proceedings; they however carried on the war with more perseverance than could have been expected from so tumultuous a body, and such ignorant leaders. But when the defeat of Padilla enabled the regents of Castille to reinforce the Count de Melito, who commanded the troops which the Valencian barons had raised among their vassals, the Germanada were incapable of resisting the united strength of the crown and nobles,

their forces were defeated; their leaders put to death; the ancient government of Valencia was re-established; and the tempest which had so long shaken Spain, sunk again into a calm.

Chapter the Thirteenth.

Hostilities between Francis and Charles—Invasion of Navarre—Alliance between the Pope and Emperor—Death of Chievres—Conduct of Robert de la Mark—the Emperor invades France—Is repulsed from Mezieres—War in Italy—Death of Leo—Election of Adrian—Defeat of Lautrec at Bicocca—Henry attacks France—Charles lands in Spain—His Clemency and Magnanimity—He gains the Affections of the Spaniards—Intrigue of Bourbon—His Treaty with the Emperor—Death of Adrian, and Election of Clement—The Spaniards and Germans are repulsed in Guienne and Burgundy—Fontarabia is recovered by the former—Defeat of Bonnivet, and Death of Bayard—Invasion of Provence—Francis enters the Milanese—Lays siege to Pavia—Is defeated and taken Prisoner—Conduct of Charles—Harsh Treatment of Francis—Intrigues of Pescara and Moroné—Charles seizes Milan—He promises the Investiture of it to Bourbon—Negociation with Francis—Treaty of Madrid—Francis marries the Emperor's Sister—He is restored to liberty.

A. D. 1521. **I**T was not the calamities of civil war alone that Spain was doomed to experience; and the attention of the regent was soon attracted by the

invasion of a foreign enemy. When Francis had entered into the competition with Charles for the imperial crown, with the vivacity natural to him, he had declared, “ that they were both suitors to “ the same mistress; the most fortunate would “ carry her; but the other must remain content- “ ed.” Yet the success of his rival had sunk deep in his mind; and there wanted not other causes of discord between himself and the Emperor; the former was bound by honour, as well as interest, to restore the family of Albret to the throne of Navarre; and he had pretensions to Naples, of which Ferdinand had deprived his predecessor by a most unwarrantable breach of faith. The latter might reclaim the Duchy of Milan, as a fief of the empire; and he considered Burgundy as the patrimonial domain of his ancestors, which had been wrested from them by the injustice of Louis the Eleventh.

When the sources of hostility were so many and various, peace could not be of long continuance; and the factions which raged through Spain encouraged Francis first to take up arms. In the name of Henry d’Albret, a considerable body of troops, under Andrew de Foix, invaded Navarre, possessed themselves of Pampeluna, and invested Lagrogno, a small town of Castille, situated on the banks of the Ebro. The hostile display of the banners of France awakened the pride of the Castilian

lian nobles, who had listened with indifference to the progress of the enemy in Navarre. Both parties exerted themselves with emulation in defence of their country; a numerous army was rapidly assembled; the French general was compelled to retire from the walls of Lagrognon; in an open battle he was defeated, and taken prisoner; and Navarre was again reduced to acknowledge the authority of Spain.

The invasion of Navarre, and the intrigues which Francis had carried on with Robert de la Mark, Lord of Bouillon, a small but independent territory, between Luxembourg and Champagne, determined Charles to engage in open war; without consulting Chievres, he had entered into an alliance with Leo; the chief articles of which were, that the Pope and Emperor should join to expel the French out of the Milanese, the possession of which should be granted to Francis Sforza, a son of Ludovico the Moor; that Parma and Placentia, which had been wrested from, should be restored to, the church; and that the Roman pontiff should be supported in his projected conquest of Ferrara. The progress of this treaty had been carefully concealed from Chievres, whose aversion to a war with France, might have prompted him to have retarded or defeated it; but no sooner was it signed and imparted to him, than he was assured he had lost that ascendancy which he
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had so long maintained over the mind of his royal pupil. His chagrin on this account, and the calamities he foreboded to his countrymen from hostilities with the French, are said to have shortened his days; his death delivered the Emperor from a minister who restrained him in a manner unworthy of his rank and years; and left him to exercise, without controul, the active powers of his mind.

With troops levied in France, by the connivance of his new ally, Robert de la Mark had presumed to enter the Dutchy of Luxembourg, to ravage the open country, and to lay siege to Vinton. Charles was not slow in chastising the insult; at the head of twenty thousand men he overwhelmed the territories of Robert; reduced him to implore his mercy; and after representing to Henry the Eighth of England that Francis had been the first aggressor, he surprised Mousson, and commanded his general, the Count of Nassau, to invest Mezieres. That city, the possession of which would have opened a road into the heart of Burgundy, was defended by the Chevalier Bayard, distinguished among his contemporaries, as *the knight, without fear and without reproach*; and though neither the works nor garrison of Mezieres were strong, such were the resources and gallantry of Bayard, that the imperialists were compelled to abandon the siege with considerable loss.

Mousson

Mousson was soon retaken by the French; and the presence of Francis on the banks of the Scheld, at the head of a superior army, might have been fatal to the future grandeur of Charles, had the former listened to the counsels of the constable Bourbon; but through an excess of caution, he missed the opportunity which he could never afterwards retrieve, of personally engaging his rival; and the Emperor, who was sensible of the danger of his position, availed himself of a thick fog, and rapidly retired beneath the cannon of Mons.

The disgrace of this retreat he soon effaced by the reduction of Tournay; but a more material advantage was, his prevailing on the King of England to declare on his side. An offensive treaty was signed between the Emperor and Henry, at Bruges; and while the former engaged to invade the southern provinces, the latter promised to attack Picardy, and flattered himself the hour was come when he should restore the ascendancy of the English in France.

Mean time the war raged in Italy; Lautrec, to whom the French forces in Milan were committed, acted with vigilance and address against the joint troops of the Pope and Emperor; and it is probable the allies would have been obliged to have retired with disgrace, had not the money appropriated for the support of their adversaries been intercepted by the rapacity of the Countess of Angoulême,

goulesme, the mother of Francis; disappointed of their pay, twelve thousand Swifs quitted the camp of Lautrec; that officer in vain endeavoured, with the remnant of his army, to defend the passage of the Adda; he was forced to retire towards the Venetian territories, before Colonna and Pescara, the papal and imperial generals; the city of Milan was surpris'd by the latter; Parma and Placentia were reduced by the former, and it was only from the castle of Milan, the town of Cremona, and a few inconsiderable forts, that the banners of France were still displayed.

Leo received the accounts of this rapid success with such transports of joy, as brought on a fever, and occasioned his death. This unexpected event suspended the operations of the confederacy; the Swifs were recalled by their cantons; the mercenaries disbanded for want of pay; and only the Spaniards, and a few Germans, remained in the Milanese; but Lautrec himself, equally destitute of men and money, was unable to improve the favourable opportunity.

A. D. 1522. Though the Emperor had promised to support the pretensions of Wolsey to the pontificate, yet his name was scarcely mentioned; and the intrigues of the Conclave were terminated by the election of Adrian, who at that time governed Castille, had been formerly the tutor of Charles, and was entirely devoted to his interest. Such a
choice

choice gave new vigour to the allies; the war was again resumed in the Milanese; but Lautrec had received a reinforcement of ten thousand Swiss, and the confederates had been reduced to retreat before him, and to fortify themselves in the strong port of Bicocca. While the generals expected every hour to be deserted by their followers, whose murmurs for want of pay were loud and universal, they were extricated from their embarrassment by the temerity of the enemy. The Swiss, on the side of the French, had felt the same distress, and bore it with less patience; it was in vain that Lautrec represented the camp of the allies strong by nature, and rendered almost inaccessible by art; they were deaf to reason, and demanded to be led to action. They rushed impetuously on the intrenchments.—but they were received with cool and steady courage; they were broken by a constant discharge of artillery; and after an ineffectual display of valour, and the loss of their best officers, and bravest soldiers, they abandoned the hopeless attempt. The survivors next day pointed their march towards their native country; the French sought shelter in their own territories; except the citadel of Cremona, the whole Milanese submitted to the authority of Francis Sforza; and Colonna, rendered enterprising by success, surprised the gates of Genoa; and established in that city the authority of the Emperor.

Defected

Deserted in Italy, Francis had renewed the war on the side of Spain; Navarre was again invaded in the name of Henry d'Albret; and Bonnivet, Admiral of France, possessed himself of Fontarabia, a strong town of Biscay, situated on a peninsula of the sea, and of the river Bidassoa; the loss of Fontarabia probably confirmed the intention of Charles to revisit his Spanish dominions; he had been absent from these above two years; and during that period, Spain had been almost incessantly afflicted by foreign war or civil commotion. Yet, however necessary he deemed his presence in Castille; policy required him in his voyage to visit his ally the King of England; six weeks he staid at London; received the order of the garter; confirmed his alliance with Henry; and inflamed again the ambition of Wolsey with the hopes of the pontificate. Before his departure he had the satisfaction of beholding the English fleet sail, under the command of the Earl of Surrey, to ravage the coast of Normandy; and after receiving this proof of the sincerity of his confederate, he himself pursued his voyage and landed about the middle of June in Spain.

Immediately on his arrival, Adrian set out to take possession of the apostolic chair; and the Emperor directed his attention to heal the wounds which the jarring factions had inflicted on his Spanish dominions. By an act of clemency, no less prudent

prudent than generous, he delivered his subjects from the apprehensions which his presence had excited ; after a rebellion so general, scarce twenty persons had been capitally punished ; though strongly solicited by his council, Charles refused to shed any more blood by the hands of the executioner ; fourscore persons alone were excepted in the pardon he published ; even these seem to have been named rather to intimidate others, than from any inclination to seize them ; for when an officious courtier offered to inform him of the retreat of one of the most considerable, he replied, with a smile, “ You had better let him know I am “ here, than tell me where he is.” This appearance of magnanimity, the marks of respect he paid to his mother, with his address in assuming the Castilian manners and language, established his ascendancy over the Spaniards, to a degree which scarce any of their native monarchs had attained ; and brought them to support all his enterprises with zeal and valour.

A. D. 1523. The Emperor was not slow in availing himself of their ardour ; he obtained from the states of Castille a free gift, amounting to four hundred thousand ducats, and though baffled in his attempt to recover Fontarabia, was enabled to detach a considerable body of Spanish troops to reinforce the Marquis of Pescara in Italy. But he principally depended on the intrigues that he had entered

entered into with Charles Duke of Bourbon, and Constable of France. That nobleman, from his birth, fortune, and office, might justly be considered as the most powerful subject in that kingdom. His eminent services in the battle of Marignano ; his thirst of glory, and skill in martial exercises, ought naturally to have recommended him to the favour of a monarch renowned for similar qualities. But unhappily, Louisa, the king's mother, had contracted a violent aversion to the House of Bourbon, and had communicated her prejudices to her son. The Duke had been injuriously removed from the government of Milan ; the payment of his pensions had been suspended ; his counsels on the banks of the Scheld had been contumeliously rejected ; and a public affront had been offered to him, in the presence of the whole army, by depriving him of the command of the Vanguard. These repeated indignities had exhausted his patience ; and he had already entered into a mysterious correspondence with the Emperor, when a new and more severe injury inflamed his thirst of revenge, and for ever estranged his allegiance from Francis.

The death of his consort had occasioned a quick change in the passions of Louisa, who, at the age of forty-six was still sensible of amorous emotions ; but Bourbon rejected her advances with contempt ; and his disdain converted her affection again into
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table hatred. In her name, she commenced a law-suit against him for the estates which he held in right of his deceased wife ; and by a sentence, destitute even of the appearance of equity, he was despoiled of the greatest part of his fortune.

Exasperated by such unremitting persecution, he continued his intrigues with the court of Madrid with redoubled ardour ; while Charles and Henry, on their side, spared no allurements to gain him. The former offered in marriage his sister Eleanor, the widow of the King of Portugal ; he was considered as a principal in the treaty of the two monarchs ; and on the conquest of France, which they had projected, the counties of Provence and Dauphiné were assigned to him, with the title of King. The Emperor engaged to enter France by the Pyrenees ; Henry, supported by the Flemings, was to invade Picardy ; while Bourbon was to receive a body of Germans into Burgundy, and was to act with his adherents in the heart of the kingdom.

To efface the disasters of the last campaign, Francis had early assembled a numerous army ; roused by the approach of danger, he proposed to disconcert the designs of his enemies, by marching in person into the Milanese ; and the confederates impatiently awaited until he had crossed the Alps with the only force capable of defending his dominions, to start up in arms. But when his vanguard

had already reached Lyons, the indiscretion of two of the conspirators awakened him to his peril; he immediately sent orders to arrest Bourbon, who, apprised of his intentions, suddenly crossed the Rhone in disguise; eluded the parties sent out to intercept him; and, after infinite hazard and fatigue, reached Italy in safety.

Neither the detection of the conspiracy of Bourbon, nor the death of Adrian, which happened at this critical juncture, could induce Charles to renounce his prospect of invading France. The Cardinal de Medici was, by the influence of the Imperial faction, raised to the papal chair, under the title of Clement the Fifth; but his election convinced Wolfey of the insincerity of the Emperor's promises; and though he publicly affected to approve the choice, and to forward with zeal the preparations against France, his haughty mind was deeply wounded by the disappointment; and he waited only a proper opportunity to render Charles sensible of his resentment.

In the mean time, the confederates commenced their operations; the English marched into Picardy, and penetrated within eleven leagues of Paris; but on the banks of the Oyse their career was checked by the gallantry of the Duke of Vendosme; they were continually harrassed by the active vigilance of the Marechal le Tremouille; and they were

were at length driven back with disgrace to the gates of Calais.

To favour their progress, the Spaniards had entered Guienne, and the Germans Burgundy ; but the former were repulsed by the Marshal Lautrec, and the latter by the Duke of Guise ; yet it was in the Milanese that Charles most severely proved the vanity of his expectations. Behind the Tefino, Colonna, who commanded the army of the allies, observed the motions, and endeavoured to resist the passage of the superior forces of the French ; but his caution was fruitless ; the enemy seized a ford that had been neglected ; and the confederates retired in confusion to Milan. Conscious of their own weakness, they had even prepared to abandon that capital ; but Bonnivet, who owed his appointment to his agreeable manners, insinuating address, and known enmity to Bourbon, rather than to his abilities as a general, delayed to advance for several days, and lost the opportunity with which his good fortune had presented him. The citizens recovered from their consternation ; the troops were indefatigable in repairing the fortifications ; when the French appeared, Milan was in a condition to stand a siege ; and Bonnivet, after some feeble attempts on the town, was obliged, by the inclemency of the season, to retire into winter quarters.

The preservation, however, of that capital, could not balance the numerous disappointments Charles had sustained; instead of acquiring fresh, he found himself unable to defend his former, conquests. The formidable conspiracy on which he had depended, had been discovered and disconcerted; the author of it had been driven into exile; the plans of the confederates had every where proved abortive; they had been repulsed in three separate attempts to invade France; and half the Milanese had been wrested from them. Yet instead of turning their thoughts to peace, ambition and emulation prompted them to new enterprises; Charles pursued his designs with unabated ardour; the wealth of Mexico, which flowed into his harbours, was devoted to raise new levies, and to purchase new allies; and his preparations for the ensuing campaign was such as promised the most decisive success.

A. D. 1524. He opened it with the siege of Fontarabia: during two successive years, the banners of France, from the ramparts of that city, had reproached the spirit of the Castilians; they considered their honour as wounded, by having twice retired unsuccessful from the ramparts; yet it was probable they would have encountered the same disgrace a third time, had the fortitude of the governor been equal to the number of the garrison, and the strength of the works. But Franget, who
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was intrusted with the defence of it, basely yielded to his fears, and surrendered it while the magazines were yet full, and the walls entire. Part of the victorious army was immediately detached to join the combined forces which had been assembled for the recovery of the Milanese. These were nominally commanded, since the death of Colonna, by Lannoy, Viceroy of Naples, though the chief direction in military operations was committed to Bourbon, and the Marquis of Pescara; the former inspired by his resentment with new activity and invention; and the latter confessedly the most able of the Imperial generals. They resolved, by an early and vigorous effort, to dispossess the French of that part of the Milanese which lies beyond the Tesino; the forces of Bonnivet, weakened by a pestilential disorder, were unable to contend with the superior numbers of the enemy; and he himself sunk beneath the genius of Bourbon and Pescara. Those celebrated leaders compelled him to abandon his strong camp at Biagrasa, and pressed on his rear with incessant diligence; through the valley of Aost he attempted to retreat into France; in the passage of the river Segria, while he exerted himself with conspicuous valour, he received a wound in his arm, which obliged him to quit the field; he committed the important charge, which he reluctantly deserted, to the Chevalier Bayard; that officer animated the cavalry by his example

and his presence to sustain the whole flock of the enemy's troops, while the infantry securely crossed the river. But in this service Bayard received a wound, which he immediately perceived to be mortal. Incapable any longer of remaining on horseback, he was placed on the ground, with his face towards the enemy; and with his eyes fixed on the guard of his sword, which he held up instead of a cross, he addressed his prayers to God. In this posture, which became him both as a soldier and a Christian, he was found by Bourbon, who led the vanguard of the confederates, and who expressed his regret and pity at the sight. "Pity not me," replied the high-spirited Chevalier, "I die, as a man of honour ought, in the discharge of my duty; they, indeed, are objects of pity, who fight against their king, their country, and their oath." By the command of the Marquis of Pescara, a tent was pitched over him, and proper persons appointed to attend him; but their care was vain; and equally regretted by his countrymen and his foes, he expired, as his ancestors for several generations had done, in the field of battle.

Though Bonnivet, with his shattered forces, escaped the pursuit of the victors, they swept away in their career what Francis possessed in Italy, and re-established Sforza in his paternal dominions. Intoxicated by his success, and instigated

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ed by Bourbon, Charles resumed his former design of invading France; Provence was chosen for the seat of war; and Bourbon, with eighteen thousand men, crossed the Alps without opposition; but his plan of penetrating into the interior provinces, and of effecting near Lyons a junction with his remaining adherents, was over-ruled by the authority of Charles, who, desirous of possessing a post which would at all times secure his entrance into France, directed him to make the reduction of Marseilles his chief object. That city was obstinately defended by a veteran garrison; the King of France himself advanced with a superior army to the relief of it; and Bourbon, after having consumed forty days in the vain enterprise, retired with precipitation towards Italy.

He was soon followed by Francis, who, naturally sanguine and impetuous, instead of being satisfied with having delivered his subjects from a formidable invasion, aspired to the re-conquest of the Milanese. His love of fame was seconded by a less noble passion; and Bonnivet is supposed to have inflamed the desires of his sovereign, by the description of a beautiful lady at Milan. At the head of one of the most powerful and best-appointed armies France had ever brought into the field, against the dissuasions of his generals, and the remonstrances of his mother, he crossed the Alps at Mount Cenis, and advanced with a diligence

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which forty thousand men seemed hardly capable of. Bourbon himself scarce outstripped him with his flying forces; accompanied by Pescara, he had entered Milan but a few hours before he descried the foremost columns of the French; they found that city so full of consternation and disorder, that the defence of it could not be undertaken with any probability of success; and having thrown a garrison into the citadel, they retired through one gate, while the enemy were admitted at another.

At Lodi on the Adda, the Imperialists breathed from the fatigue and terror of pursuit; had Francis immediately attacked them there, that day might have extinguished the dominion of Charles in Italy; but in compliance with the opinion of Bonnivet, he turned aside to besiege Pavia on the Tefino, a place strong in its fortifications, and garrisoned by six thousand veterans, under the command of Antonio de Leyva, an officer not less distinguished for his patient courage, than his enterprising spirit.

A. D. 1525. The interval which was thus allowed them, was diligently improved by the imperial generals; though deserted by the fickle Clement, who courted the prosperity of Francis, and without hopes of supply from the Emperor, they found resources from that fertile genius which ever shines most conspicuous amidst distress. Lannoy procured

cured a small loan, by mortgaging the revenues of Naples; Pescara, who was adored by the Spanish troops, readily prevailed on those gallant men to shew how superior their sentiments were to those of mercenary soldiers, by serving without any immediate demand for pay; and Bourbon, after having raised a considerable sum, by pawning his jewels, set out for Germany, where his influence was great, that by his presence he might hasten the levies for the imperial service.

Three months had, however, reduced the garrison of Pavia to the last extremity; their ammunition and provisions began to fail; the mercenaries of whom it was chiefly composed, threatened to deliver up the town into the enemy's hands, and could hardly be restrained by Leyva's address and authority, when twelve thousand Germans, whom the zeal and activity of Bourbon had taught to move with unusual rapidity, entered Lombardy, and joined the camp at Lodi; but the imperial leaders, far from having the funds for the support of so powerful an army, were scarce able to defray the charges of conducting their artillery, their ammunition, and provisions; by magnificent promises they, however, prevailed on the troops to take the field without pay; and the soldiers, sensible that by retiring, they should forfeit the arrears due to them, and impatient for spoil, demanded, with fierce clamours, to be led to battle.

Without

Without suffering their ardour to cool, the generals immediately advanced to Pavia; on the intelligence of their approach, Francis called a council of war; his most experienced officers advised him to decline a battle, to retire to some strong post, and to wait till the necessities of the Imperialists should oblige them to disband their army, when he might take possession of the Milanese, without danger or bloodshed. But the rash counsels of Bonnivet were more acceptable to the daring spirit of his sovereign; he represented the disgrace of abandoning a siege which he had so long prosecuted; and Francis, whose notions of honour impelled him to measures the most romantic, determined to await the enemy before the walls of Pavia.

Eager as were the imperial generals for the attack, they found the French so strongly intrenched, that it was some time before they ventured to give the signal for action; but the necessities of the besieged, and the murmurs of their own soldiers, obliged them to put every thing to hazard. Yet in the first moments they were incapable of resisting the efforts of the French valour, inflamed by the example of a gallant monarch, and seconded by a generous nobility; even their firmest battalions began to give way; but the fortune of the day was soon changed; the Swiss, in the service of France, unmindful of the reputation of their country

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try for fidelity and martial glory, abandoned their post in a cowardly manner; part of the left wing, under the command of the Duke of Alençon, basely deserted their sovereign: the French cavalry was broken by the imperial horse; the rout became general; and resistance ceased almost in every part but where the king fought in person; wounded in several places, and thrown from his horse, he still defended himself with the most heroic courage; and six of his adversaries perished by his arm.— Though solicited to surrender to Bourbon, he rejected with indignation an action which would have afforded such matter of triumph to his rebellious subject; at length, exhausted with fatigue, he delivered up his sword to Lannoy, who received it with respect, and presented to him his own.

The victory of the Imperialists was indeed complete; ten thousand of their foes were extended lifeless on the bloody field; among these were the most illustrious nobility of France, and Bonnivet himself, whose fatal counsels had precipitated the national calamity; his haughty mind scorned to survive the public disaster; and rushing into the thickest ranks of the enemy, he fell, covered with honourable wounds. On the first intelligence of the event, the feeble garrison of Milan retired by a different route, without being pursued; and in a fortnight after the battle, the French were entirely expelled from Italy.

Yet

Yet the victors themselves were not without disquietude ; solicitous to prevent his royal prisoner from escaping, and alarmed lest his own troops might seize his person, and detain it as the best security for the payment of their arrears, Lannoy, the day after the battle, had conducted Francis to the strong castle of Pizzichitoni, near Cremona, and committed him to the custody of Don Ferdinand Alarcon, general of the Spanish infantry, an officer of great bravery and strict honour ; but remarkable for that severe and scrupulous vigilance which such a trust required.

His next care was to convey to his sovereign an early account of the victory of Pavia ; as the most certain method, at that late season of the year, was by land, and through the French territories, he obtained from Francis a pass-port for the officer who was charged with the dispatches. At Madrid Charles received the intelligence of his signal and unexpected success, with the appearance of the most perfect composure and moderation ; without uttering one word expressive of exultation, he retired to his chapel, to offer up his thanksgivings ; and on his return, when congratulated by the grandees of Spain, and foreign Ministers, he lamented the situation of the captive king as a striking example of the reverse of fortune ; and seemed to take pleasure in the advantage he had gained,
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only as it would prove the occasion of restoring peace to Christendom.

Yet beneath this modest deportment, and forbearing language, he nourished projects the most extensive; ambition, not generosity, was the ruling passion of his mind; and the victory of Pavia opened to him a boundless prospect. But at the very moment that he aspired to the most splendid triumphs, and indulged the hopes of the most rapid conquests, the limited state of his revenues, and the universal jealousy of his neighbours, exposed him to embarrassments scarce inferior to those of the prince he held prisoner.

The defeat of Pavia had indeed filled France with consternation; the first news of it had been transmitted by the King himself to his mother, in a letter which contained these words: "Madam, all is lost, except our honour." In the persecution of Bourbon, the passions of Louisa had endangered the kingdom; but her abilities were exerted to save it. In this trying hour, her magnanimity never deserted her; and instead of giving herself up to the lamentations of a woman, she discovered all the foresight of a consummate politician. She assembled the nobles at Lyons, and animated them by her example and language; she collected the remains of the army that had served in Italy, and enabled it again to take the field; she levied new troops, and raised extraordinary
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fums to defray the expence of them ; and ſhe laboured inceſſantly to conciliate the friendſhip, and to obtain the protection, of the King of England.

Henry beheld with concern the balance of power which he had affected to maintain, deſtroyed by the diſaſtrous field of Pavia ; and his miniſter Wolſey remembered with indignation the fallacious promiſes of the papacy, with which the Emperor had deluded him ; he painted to his ſovereign, who had liſtened, with a mixture of admiration and pity, to the gallantry of the unfortunate Francis, the danger which menaced Europe, from the riſing greatneſs of the ambitious Charles ; influenced by the powerful motives of policy and generoſity, Henry ſecretly aſſured Louiſa of his ſupport, and compelled her to promiſe that ſhe would not diſmember the kingdom, even to procure her ſon's liberty ; but to the Emperor he held a different language ; he reminded him that the hour was now come for extinguishing the monarchy of France ; he offered to invade Guienne with a powerful army ; and he demanded that Francis ſhould be delivered to him, in conſequence of his claim to the crown of France, and an article of the treaty of Bruges, by which each party was bound to ſurrender all uſurpers to him whoſe rights they had invaded. Theſe extravagant propoſals were received by the Emperor with the coldneſs that was expected ; and his rejecting them, afforded

the King of England soon after a decent pretence for withdrawing from his alliance.

Though Clement, naturally penetrating, equally discerned, with Henry, the danger which impended over the other European states, from the ambition of the Emperor, he wanted steadiness to oppose the torrent. Intimidated by the threats, or allured by the promises of Lannoy, he relinquished his confederacy with France, and by a separate treaty bound himself to advance a considerable sum to Charles, in return for certain emoluments which he was to receive from him. The money was instantly paid; but the Emperor refused to ratify the treaty; and the transaction only served to expose the Pope to infamy and ridicule in the eyes of his former confederates.

The supply, however, came very seasonably into the hands of Lannoy; the German troops, which had defended Pavia with such meritorious courage and perseverance, had grown insolent in the hour of victory, and seized the town, as the security for the payment of their arrears. Lannoy appeased them by the distribution of the money he had exacted from the Pope; but as he still apprehended they might make themselves masters of the person of Francis, he soon after dismissed all the Germans and Italians in the Imperial service; and thus acknowledged the weakness of his sovereign, who, while he was suspected of aiming at

universal monarchy, was incapable of keeping on foot an army which exceeded not twenty-four thousand men.

It was probably this low state of his finances that prevented the Emperor from making one great effort to penetrate into France with all the forces of Spain and the Low Countries, and reduced him to adopt the arts of intrigue and negotiation. He ordered the Count de Rouex to visit his royal captive, and to propose the following conditions as the price of his liberty : That he should restore Burgundy to the Emperor, from whose ancestors it had been wrested ; that he should surrender Provence and Dauphiné to be erected into a kingdom for Bourbon ; that he should satisfy the claims of the King of England ; and finally, should renounce all pretensions to any territory in Italy. When Francis heard these rigorous proposals, he was so transported with indignation, that, drawing his dagger hastily, he exclaimed, “ It is better that a king should die thus.” Alarcon, alarmed at his vehemence, caught his hand ; but though he soon recovered greater composure, he still declared, in the most solemn manner, that he would rather remain a prisoner through life, than purchase liberty by such ignominious concessions.

That generosity which he found in his own bosom, he could not doubt but his rival possessed ;
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he flattered himself that the conditions which had been proposed by Rouex flowed from the rigid policy of the Spanish council ; and that in a personal interview with Charles he should easily adjust the terms of his deliverance. He was confirmed in these sentiments by Lannoy, desirous of conveying his captive safe into Spain ; and so eager was Francis on the scheme, that he furnished the gallies necessary for the voyage, and commanded his Admiral Doria to suffer them to pass without opposition ; on pretence of transporting him by sea to Naples, Lannoy conducted his prisoner to Genoa, and having deceived Bourbon and Pescara by this artifice, he set sail with him for Spain, and landed at Barcelona ; thence Francis was conveyed to Madrid, and lodged in the alcazar, or castle, under the care of the vigilant Alarçon.

While the King of France, from the severity of his confinement, seemed to be sensible that he had relied without foundation on his rival's generosity, Charles himself began to perceive the danger to which his own prosperity was exposed. Henry had openly avowed his alliance with Louisa ; and to the concern which the defection of so powerful a confederate occasioned, was added the intimation of an intrigue in Italy, which threatened him with consequences still more fatal.

The manner in which Lannoy had conveyed Francis from Italy, had equally enraged Bourbon

and Pescara; the former had followed to prefer his complaints; the latter, though chained down to Milan by his military command, had vented his indignation in every company, and had openly accused the ingratitude of his sovereign. His language of discontent had early reached the ears of Jerome Moroné, Vice Chancellor of Milan, a man whose genius for intrigue and faction distinguished him in an age and country where violent factions, and frequent revolutions, afforded scope to such talents. In common with the Italian politicians, Moroné was inflamed with the darling object of delivering Italy from the yoke of foreigners.—With that view, in the commencement of the war, he had fomented the confederacy against Francis, and promoted the re-establishment of Sforza; but he now perceived the Emperor never meant to grant the investiture of Milan to the latter, and he determined to avail himself of the resentment of Pescara to achieve a new and more important revolution. He insinuated to that general that now was the time to be avenged of the ungrateful Charles; that it remained with him to disperse the Spanish infantry in such a manner through the Milanese, that in one night they might be destroyed by the people; that he might then, without opposition, take possession of the throne of Naples, of which the Pope would readily grant him the investiture; and which the Venetians, the Florentines,

tines, and the Duke of Milan, would join to guarantee to the restorer of liberty to Italy. Astonished at the boldness of the scheme, Pescara stood some moments absorbed in silence; his ambition at length prevailed over his loyalty; and he acceded to the proposal of Moroné.

But when he came coolly to reflect, he was either shocked by the guilt of the action, or despaired of the success of the enterprise; and he determined to reveal the whole conspiracy to the Emperor; that Prince was by his spies already apprised of it; he seemed however highly pleased with Pescara's fidelity, and commanded him to continue the negociation. Conscious of guilt, the latter dared not refuse the dishonourable office; he invited Moroné to a last interview, finally to arrange their plan; but Antonio de Leyva had been concealed in the apartment, and was an evidence of their conversation; as Moroné was about to withdraw, that officer suddenly appeared, and arrested him; he was committed prisoner to the castle of Pavia; Sforza was declared by his intrigues to have forfeited all title to the Duchy of Milan; which, with the exception of the castles of Milan and Cremona, that the unfortunate Duke still continued to defend, was seized by Pescara in the Emperor's name.

Though the Emperor had added, by the event of this conspiracy, to his dominions in Italy, yet

the acquisition balanced not the danger which he apprehended from the confederacy he beheld forming on every side against him. Even the advantages which he proposed to draw from the captivity of Francis, had nearly eluded his grasp. That monarch, instead of the interview with which he had been flattered, found himself in a solitary prison, and guarded with unremitting attention. The only recreation that was permitted him was to take the air on a mule, surrounded by soldiers. The continuance of this harsh treatment for six months, was productive of a fever, which endangered his existence, and during which he constantly complained of the unexpected and unprincely rigour that he had experienced. Solicitous to preserve a life, which must have closed the splendid prospect he had indulged from the victory of Pavia, Charles granted to policy what he had refused to humanity, and hastened from Toledo to Madrid to visit his prisoner. He accosted him in terms of affection and respect, and inspired him with the hopes of speedy deliverance ; but no sooner had these promises revived the spirits, and restored the health of the French King, than the Emperor returned to Toledo, resumed his wonted channel of negotiation through his ministers, and observed the same distance to his royal captive as before.

The arrival of Bourbon about the same time in Spain, was the source of a new and severe mortification

tification to Francis. Charles, who had with difficulty been prevailed upon to visit the King of France, received his rebellious subject with the most studied respect. He met him without the gates of Toledo, embraced him with the greatest affection, and placing him on his left hand, conducted him to his apartment. It afforded, however, the captive monarch some consolation to observe that the sentiments of the Spaniards widely differed from those of their sovereign. That generous people detested Bourbon's crime; notwithstanding his great talents, and important services, they shunned all intercourse with him to such a degree, that Charles, having desired the Marquis de Villena to permit Bourbon to reside in his palace, while the court remained at Toledo, he replied, "that he could not refuse to gratify his sovereign in that request;" but added, with a Castilian dignity of mind, "that the Emperor must not be surprised if the moment that the constable departed, he should burn to the ground a house which, having been polluted by the presence of a traitor, became an unfit habitation for a man of honour."

With whatever marks of distinction the Emperor might receive Bourbon, yet the object of his visit could not fail to embarrass him. The latter demanded the hand of Eleanora, the Queen Dowager of Portugal, the honour of which alliance had been

one of his chief inducements to rebel against his lawful sovereign. But Francis, who was become a widower, to prevent such a dangerous union, had offered himself to marry that princess; and Eleonora hesitated not to prefer the monarch to the subject. The death of Pescara, at this critical juncture, offered to Charles a new expedient; by that event, the command of the army in Italy became vacant, and the Emperor persuaded Bourbon to accept the office of general in chief there, together with a grant of the Dutchy of Milan, forfeited by Sforza, and in return to relinquish his pretensions to the Queen of Portugal.

Though the obstacle which the claims of Bourbon opposed was thus removed, the negociation with Francis seemed not to advance; and that prince in despair suddenly took the resolution of resigning his crown to his son the Dauphin; he signed the deed for that purpose with legal formality; empowered his sister, the Dutchess of Alençon, to carry it into France, that it might be registered in the parliaments; and intimating his intention to the Emperor, desired him to name the place of his confinement, and to assign him a proper number of attendants during the remainder of his days,

So decisive a project effectually served to quicken the determinations of Charles. Instead of a mighty monarch, he was sensible he might find in his hands

hands a prince without dominions or revenues.— This consideration induced him to abate somewhat of his demands ; while Francis having received certain intelligence of a powerful league forming against his rival in Italy, grew more compliant with regard to concessions ; trusting, that if once he could obtain his liberty, he should be in a condition to resume whatever he had yielded.

A. D. 1526. With such views the two monarchs soon came to a final agreement ; in respect to the principal article, which regarded Burgundy, the French King engaged to restore that country to the Emperor in full sovereignty ; and Charles consented that the restitution should not be made until Francis was set at liberty. In order to secure the performance of this, as well as the other conditions, the latter agreed, that at the same instant he himself was released, he would deliver, as hostages, his eldest son the Dauphin, his second son the Duke of Orleans, or in lieu of the last, twelve of his principal nobility, to be named by the Emperor. By the other articles, the King of France renounced all pretensions in Italy ; disclaimed any title to the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois ; promised full reparation for the damages sustained by Bourbon and his adherents ; and engaged to use his influence with Henry. d'Albret to abandon his claim on Navarre. In corroboration of this union, Francis was to marry the Emperor's sister, the Queen Dow-

ager of Portugal; and to cause all the articles of this treaty to be ratified by the states, and registered in the parliaments of his kingdom; that upon the Emperor's receiving this ratification, the hostages should be set at liberty; but in their place, the Duke of Angoulesme, the King's third son, should be delivered to Charles, to be educated at the imperial court; and if Francis did not fulfil the stipulations within a limited time, he should engage upon his honour and oath to return into Spain, and to surrender himself again a prisoner to the Emperor.

Though the treaty was signed about the middle of January, yet it was not until some weeks after that the ratification of it was returned from Paris, and that Francis was permitted to consummate his marriage with the Queen of Portugal. He immediately took leave of his new brother-in-law with outward demonstrations of regard, but with deep and inward resentment. He was escorted by a body of horse under Alarçon, who, as he drew near the frontiers of France, guarded him with more scrupulous exactness than ever. On the opposite bank of the river Andaye, which separates the two kingdoms, were the Dauphin, and his brother Henry Duke of Orleans, who were to be delivered up as hostages for the due execution of the treaty. The exchange was made in a bark that had been purposely moored in
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in the middle of the stream; and Francis, after a short embrace to his children, leaped into a boat provided for him, and gained the French shore, after having endured a captivity of one year, and twenty days, from the fatal battle of Pavia.

Chapter the Fourteenth.

Marriage of Charles—New Rupture between Him and Francis—Holy League—Expedition and Death of Bourbon—Clement is made Prisoner by the Imperial Army—Is delivered by Lautrec—Milan is besieged by the French—Loria revolts to the Emperor—The French are expelled Italy—Treaty of Cambray—Charles visits Italy and Germany—Procures his Brother to be elected King of the Romans—Campaign against Solymán—Expedition against Tunis—War between Charles and Francis—The former invades Provence—Is compelled to retreat with great Loss—Truce for ten Years negotiated between the Emperor and the King of France—Their Interview at Argues-Mortes—Meeting of the Spanish Troops—Authority of the Cortes broken—High spirit of the Spanish Nobles—Revolt of the Citizens of Ghent—Charles obtains Permission to pass through France—His Duplicity to Francis—Quells the Sedition of Ghent—Refuses to grant the Milanese to Francis—Visits Germany—Quells the Protestants—Returns to Italy—Unfortunate Expedition against Algiers—Magnanimity of the Emperor—War resumed between Him and Francis—Defeat of the Marquis de Guasta at Cerisoles—Treaty of Crespy.

A. D. 1526. **T**HE cares of state, and the sound of war, had hitherto engaged the attention of Charles ;

Charles, and banished from his thoughts the more tender passions ; by the treaty of Madrid, he flattered himself that he had firmly established his own power, and for ever broken that of his rival. He snatched the short interval that he was allowed from the toils of government to fix his domestic happiness ; and set out for Seville to receive the hand of Isabella, the sister of John the Third, King of Portugal, a princess of uncommon beauty and accomplishments. As the Cortes of Castille and Arragon had warmly solicited their sovereign to marry, this choice of a wife, so nearly allied to both kingdoms, could not but prove acceptable. The court of Lisbon, equally pleased with the alliance, had with unexampled liberality granted Isabella a portion of nine hundred thousand ducats ; a sum which, however serviceable to the affairs of the Emperor, was but a secondary consideration, when opposed to the amiable qualities of the princess herself, who throughout life commanded the respect and affection of her imperial consort.

But Charles was not long suffered to indulge in peace the grateful expectations he had formed from the treaty of Madrid ; his wisest counsellors had ever distrusted the faith of Francis ; they concluded ambition and resentment would prompt him to violate the hard conditions which he had been constrained to subscribe ; nor would arguments or casuistry be wanting to represent that which was so manifestly

manifestly advantageous, to be just and necessary. Indeed, had they known one circumstance, their conjectures would have been converted into certainty ; for while the French monarch yet remained at Madrid, he had assembled the few counsellor he could confide in ; and after exacting from them a solemn oath of secrecy, he had formally protested, that his consent to the treaty ought to be considered as an involuntary deed, and be deemed void of obligation.

The first step, however, of Francis, was to procure such powerful allies as might enable him to defend his breach of faith by arms. The ambition of the Emperor concurred in facilitating his negociations. The King of England, the Pope, the Venetians, and the Duke of Milan, readily entered into a confederacy to set bounds to the progress of Charles ; they assumed the title of the *Holy League* ; and Clement, by the plenitude of his papal power, absolved his new ally from the oath which he had taken to observe the treaty of Madrid.

Fortified by such temporal and spiritual weapons, when the Imperial ambassadors presented themselves before Francis, to demand the accomplishment of the treaty, the latter gravely replied, that it contained so many articles, which affected the interests of the French monarchy, that he could not take any further step without consulting the
states

states of his kingdom. In the presence of Lannoy and Alarçon, the deputies from the Dutchy of Burgundy were admitted, and represented that no King could alienate their country from the Crown. Francis, affecting to be convinced by their arguments, offered, instead of Burgundy, to pay the Emperor two millions of crowns. The proposal was rejected by Lannoy and Alarçon, who retired with indignant contempt from the farce, and before their departure had the additional mortification of hearing the Holy League published with great solemnity against their sovereign.

A. D. 1527. Of the powers that composed that League the Duke of Milan was already besieged in the castle of his capital; and before the Duke d'Urbino, the general of the confederates, could advance to his relief, the garrison was obliged to surrender to Bourbon; to whom the Emperor had promised the investiture of the Dutchy. Sforza himself escaped to Lodi; yet Bourbon, who commanded the imperial forces in Italy, was scarce less embarrassed than the prince he had expelled. The Milanese had been exhausted by incessant invasions; the Cortes of Castille refused to contribute to the support of a distant war; and fourteen thousand hungry Germans, who joined the imperial army, under the conduct of Fronsperg, served only to augment the distress of the general. To extricate himself from these difficulties, he ventured

tured on a measure as bold as it was unexpected; the veneration for the Apostolic chair had gradually diminished; Clement had of late acted such a part as merited from the Emperor the severest vengeance; and to gratify the rapacity of his soldiers, and the resentment of his sovereign, Bourbon took the daring resolution of marching to Rome. The greatness of his abilities was displayed in the execution of this design; he pressed forwards in the depth of winter with an army of twenty-five thousand men, without money, without magazines, and without artillery; in the face of a superior enemy, he traversed mountains, and rivers, and braved the inclemency of the season. He at length encamped under the walls of the devoted city; but in the moment of victory, he fell by a random shot, and expired with the courage which had characterized his life; his army, under the command of Philibert, Prince of Orange, entered and pillaged the ancient mistress of the world, and by their cruelty and rapacity rendered Rome the seat of carnage and desolation.

The feeble Clement had sought shelter from the tempest in the castle of St. Angelo; but he was soon obliged to surrender; and was committed to the care of Alarçon; who thus had the custody of the two most illustrious personages, who had been made prisoners in Europe during several ages. The death of Bourbon released the Emperor from
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his promise, and placed Milan again in his power. Nor was the good fortune of the house of Austria less conspicuous in another part of Europe. Solyman, the successor of Selim, and the conqueror of Rhodes, having invaded Hungary with an host of three hundred thousand men, Lewis the Second, King of that country and of Bohemia, rashly ventured to engage him at the head of thirty thousand new levied soldiers. His temerity was punished with the loss of his army and his life, and the flower of the Hungarian nobility perished with him on the disastrous field of Mohaoz. As in him the male race of Jagellon expired, his kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia were claimed by the Archduke Ferdinand, by a double title, as inheriting the ancient pretensions of the house of Austria, and in right of his wife, the sister of the deceased monarch. A competitor started up in the Vaywode of Transylvania; but he was forced to yield to the personal merit of Ferdinand, and to the influence of the Emperor; and these new acquisitions, which in process of time, the princes of the house of Austria rendered hereditary in their family, laid the foundation of that pre-eminence in power which has made them so formidable to the rest of Germany.

Yet experience had taught Charles the danger of awakening the fears of mankind; he affected to cast a veil over the success of his plans; and while he
exulted

exulted in, he pretended to disclaim, the enterprise of Bourbon. He even appointed prayers and processions throughout all Spain, for the recovery of the Pope's liberty, which by an order to his generals he could have immediately granted him; but so gross an artifice did not deceive the world; all Europe heard, with astonishment and horror, the cruel treatment of the successor of St. Peter, by a christian Emperor. Francis, whom his late misfortunes had rendered cautious, and who had hoped to have obtained the freedom of his sons by negociation, now rushed to action. By the expedition against Rome, the Milanese had been drained of the Imperial forces; and Lautrec, who entered it at the head of a French army, was received by the Italians with open arms. He instantly occupied Alexandria, and reduced all the country on that side of the Tefino; Pavia was taken by assault, and the whole Dutchy must have been restored to the dominion of France, had not Lautrec been fearful of exciting, by the conquest, the jealousy of the confederates. He therefore directed his march towards Rome, where the Pope still remained a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo. His approach facilitated the deliverance of Clement; the Imperial army, in the indulgence of victory, had become enervated and untractable; they demanded with loud clamours their arrears; and Charles, who could neither depend on their valour
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nor

nor obedience, and had found the Cortes still averse to granting any pecuniary supply, had recourse to the fears of the Pope. Clement readily consented to purchase his freedom, at the price of three hundred and fifty thousand crowns; part of this was distributed among the Imperial troops, and with the terror of Lautrec's approach, and the influence of the Prince of Orange, induced them to quit Rome, and to point their retreat towards Naples.

A. D. 1528. Animated by the rapid progress of the confederacy, Francis and Henry, by their heralds formally denounced war against Charles.—The defiance of the latter the Emperor received with a decent firmness; but he vented his indignation against the former by every opprobrious expression, and declared he considered him as a stranger to the honour and integrity becoming a gentleman. To this insult Francis returned the lie in form, and challenged his rival to single combat; Charles readily accepted the challenge; the difficulties respecting the order of combat prevented them from actually meeting; but the example of two such illustrious personages had considerable influence on the manners of Europe, and sanctioned the practice of duels in private and personal quarrels.

While the two monarchs seemed so eager to terminate their differences with the sword, the operations

rations of Lautrec promised to prove more decisive. The Imperial army, which had quitted Rome, before it reached Naples, was wasted to one half of its original number, by the effects of its intemperance and debauchery ; it was closely followed by Lautrec, who, as he could not hope to carry by assault a city defended by such numerous forces, determined to await the more slow but sure effects of famine ; he drew strong lines of circumvallation round Naples ; while Andrew Doria, a citizen of Genoa, the ablest seaman of the age, and the admiral of Francis, after defeating the superior fleet of the Emperor, blocked up with his squadron the harbour.

Every thing seemed to promise Lautrec a certain and speedy conquest, when the fair prospect was blasted again, by the imprudence of his sovereign. Born in a republic, and trained from his infancy to the sea, the independent spirit and blunt manners of Doria had proved offensive to the ministers of Francis. Animated with a patriotic zeal for the welfare of his native country, he had opposed with warmth the design of the French to restore the harbour of Savona, which the Genoese had long regarded with jealousy. His manly remonstrances had irritated Francis, who commanded him to be instantly arrested, but Doria got timely intelligence of his danger, and retired with his galleys to a place of safety. He immediately opened a negotiation

gociation with the Emperor, who, sensible of his importance, granted him whatever terms he required; and as the servant of his new sovereign, he steered back his course to Naples, not to block up the harbour of that city, but to afford it protection and deliverance.

His revolt was soon felt in the camp of Lautrec; while plenty was poured into Naples, the French army began to suffer for want of provisions; they were incessantly harassed by the Imperialists; and in addition to those misfortunes, the diseases common to the country during sultry months, began to break out among them. Of the whole army, not four thousand men were capable of doing duty. Lautrec escaped not the infection; and after long struggling with the difficulties of his station, he expired the victim of pestilence and disappointment. His death devolved the command on the Marquis de Saluces, who, unequal to the trust, effected a disorderly retreat to Aversa, and was there compelled to capitulate to the Prince of Orange. The remnant of his troops, without arms or colours, was marched under a guard to the frontiers of France; the whole of the kingdom of Naples was hastily evacuated; and the superiority of Charles was restored in Italy.

Deprived of Naples, the French were not long able to keep possession of Genoa; their garrison in that city was reduced by desertion to an inconsiderable

rable number ; the inhabitants, who had equally experienced the oppression of Francis and Charles, cherished in secret the ancient memory of the republic ; and when Doria, impatient to deliver his country from the yoke of foreigners, sailed into the harbour, they received him with the loudest acclamations. In the citadel, the French attempted a feeble resistance ; but they were soon overwhelmed by the torrent : while Doria, instead of usurping the sovereign power, which the influence of the Emperor, and the gratitude of his countrymen, enabled him easily to have effected, established the government nearly as it subsists at this day, and has obtained from the justice of posterity, the honourable appellations of the father of his country, and the restorer of its liberty.

A. D. 1529. Antonio de Leyva reduced the Milanese with the same facility that the Prince of Orange had overrun Naples. Yet amidst these various successes, the thoughts of the Emperor were turned on peace. Solyman having penetrated through Hungary, was ready to break in upon the Austrian territories, with the whole forces of the East.—The doctrines of Luther gained ground daily in Germany, and the princes who favoured them had entered into a confederacy which Charles thought dangerous to the tranquillity of the empire. The Spaniards murmured at the unusual length of a war, the expences of which they had chiefly defrayed,

frayed. On the other hand, Francis, discouraged and exhausted by so many unsuccessful enterprises, hoped to restore that freedom to his sons by treaty, which he had in vain attempted by arms. In this situation, when the contending parties wished for peace, but durst not venture on the steps necessary to obtain it, two ladies took the weighty care on themselves; the negociation was conducted by Margaret of Austria, the Emperor's aunt, and Louisa, the mother of Francis; and from the place where it was concluded, obtained the name of the peace of Cambray. The conditions were as glorious and advantageous to Charles as they were ignominious and injurious to Francis. The former, for the present, indeed, was not to demand the restitution of Burgundy, but he was allowed to keep his pretensions in full force; while the latter, for the ransom of the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, agreed to pay two millions of crowns; consented to restore such towns as he still held in the Milanese; renounced his claims to Naples, Milan, Genoa, and every other place beyond the Alps; resigned the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois; abandoned his allies the Venetians, the Florentines, and the Duke of Ferrara; in short, sacrificed every object for which he had commenced the war; and while he listened only to the feelings of a father, forgot his faith and dignity as a king.

Henry the Eighth had acceded to the peace of Cambray ; and Charles was desirous of employing the moment of tranquillity in visiting his dominions of Italy and Germany. His insinuating address had already captivated the affections of the Spaniards, and every day increased their attachment. Before he embarked for Italy, a striking proof of his disposition to gratify them occurred. He was to make his entry into Barcelona ; and some doubts having arisen amongst the inhabitants whether they should receive him as Emperor, or as Count of Barcelona, Charles instantly decided in favour of the latter, declaring, he was more proud of that ancient title, than of his Imperial crown. Soothed by this flattering expression of his regard, the citizens welcomed him with acclamations of joy ; and the States of the Provinces imitated the example of the other kingdoms of Spain, in swearing allegiance to his infant son Philip.

In Italy, Charles appeared with the state and pomp of a conqueror. The natives of that country, who had suffered so much from the ferocity and licentiousness of his armies, had been accustomed to fancy him as resembling the barbarous monarchs of the Goths and Huns ; and were agreeably surprised to see a prince of graceful appearance, of affable manners, and of exemplary attention to all the offices of religion. They were still
more

more astonished to behold him adjust the concerns of Italy with equity and moderation. He granted Sforza a full pardon and re-established him in his Dutchy; he allowed the Duke of Farrara to keep possession of his dominions; and at Bologna, with affected humility, he knelt down to kiss the feet of that very Pope whom he had so lately detained a prisoner. .

A. D. 1530. The affairs of Germany suffered not Charles to consume his hours in Italy; though Solymán, who, with an hundred and fifty thousand men, had penetrated into Austria, had, by the prudent conduct of Ferdinand, and the treachery of the Ottoman Vizier, been obliged to abandon the siege of Vienna with disgrace, yet the religious disorders which distracted the empire demanded the presence of its head. Several of the German Princes, who had embraced the opinions of Luther, had not only established in their territories that form of worship, but had entirely suppressed the rites of the Romish church. Many of the free cities had imitated their conduct; almost one half of the Germanic body had revolted from the Papal see, and its authority was considerably weakened in the other half; nor could the Emperor fail to observe that the religious divisions and the confederacies they led to, tended to diminish the Imperial influence. To suppress them, he called a diet at Augsbúrg; it was attended by all the

Princes of the empire, and more particularly those who, from protesting against the decree of a late Diet at Spire, which enjoined them to continue the celebration of Mass, had obtained the name of **PROTESTANTS**. The principal of these were the electors of Saxony, the Marquis of Brandenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Dukes of Lunenburg, and the Prince of Anhalt. Though in the presence of the Emperor, they conducted themselves with the greatest decency, they defended with fortitude the opinions they had embraced; and though solicited separately, refused to abandon what they deemed the cause of God for the sake of any earthly acquisition. The majority of the Diet was more compliant; they issued a decree, condemning most of the tenets held by the Protestants; and threatening with severe penalties any person who should presume to inculcate them.— Yet, instead of intimidating the chiefs of the latter, it only induced them to confederate more closely; and the league of Smalkalde, which they immediately after concluded, for their mutual defence against all aggressors, and to which they solicited the protection of the Kings of France and England, was the result of their just jealousy.

A. D. 1531. Their civil, as well as religious freedom, seemed endangered by the measures of Charles; he had formed the project of continuing the Imperial crown in his family by procuring his brother Ferdinand to be elected King of the Romans;

mans; and though the Lutheran Princes opposed the design with vigour, yet the other electors yielded to his wishes, and Ferdinand was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, notwithstanding the protest of the elector of Saxony.

Many circumstances concurred, however, notwithstanding his success, to convince Charles that it was not prudent at this juncture to attempt the extirpation of the protestant religion by violence. The protestants were considerable by their numbers, and formidable from their zeal. They had discovered their own strength; the peace with France was precarious; the friendship of the Pope was not to be relied upon; and Solymán, in order to repair the discredit of the former campaign, was preparing to enter Austria with more numerous forces. Influenced by these motives, Charles relaxed from his severity; and proclaimed that till the meeting of a general council, all proceedings against the Protestants should be stopped, and the sentence already passed to their detriment should be annulled. Grateful for these concessions, the latter exerted themselves with extraordinary ardour to furnish their proportion of the supplies against the Turks; and Charles being joined by a body of Spanish and Italian veterans, marched at the head of ninety thousand disciplined foot, and thirty thousand horse, to defend Hungary against Solymán, who had invaded it with three hundred thousand men.

Such

A. D. 1532. Such numerous forces, commanded by the two greatest monarchs in the world, could not fail to excite the attention of mankind; but each dreaded the other's power and fortune; and both conducted their operations with such excessive caution, that the campaign elapsed without any memorable event. Solyman, finding it impossible to gain ground upon an enemy always upon his guard, marched back towards the end of the autumn; and on the retreat of the Turks, the Emperor set out to revisit Spain.

A. D. 1533-34. On his way, he had an interview at Bologna with Clement; yet whatever promises the Pope might enter into, he was soon tempted by the marriage of his niece, the celebrated Catherine de Medicis, with Henry, the second son of Francis, to espouse with more warmth than ever the French interest; the pontificate of Clement may be marked as one of the most disastrous for the see of Rome. His refusal to dissolve the marriage of Henry of England with Catharine, the aunt of the Emperor, induced the former to throw off the Papal supremacy; and his death, about eleven months after the marriage of his niece, disappointed Francis of the advantage he had fondly expected from his alliance; and raised to the Apostolic chair Paul the Third, who had hitherto invariably adhered to the Imperial interest.

Indefa-

A. D. 1535. Indefatigable in the pursuit of glory or power, Charles had not long returned to Spain before he meditated a new enterprize; that part of the coast of Africa, which is known by the name of Barbary, and which comprises the kingdoms of Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis, was peopled by a motley race of Arabs, Negroes, and Moors, all zealous professors of the Mahometan religion, and bigoted enemies to christianity. After a variety of revolutions, the throne of Algiers had been usurped by Heyradin, better known by the name of Barbarossa, the son of a Potter of Lesbos, whose daring courage and singular success, in the infamous trade of piracy, had enabled him gradually to assemble twelve gallies, and being received as the ally of the King of Algiers, he had murdered, and seized the sceptre of, the monarch to whose assistance he had sailed. Conscious of the detestation of his subjects, he put his dominions under the protection of the Grand Seignior, and received for his security a body of Turkish soldiers. The fame of his naval exploits daily increasing, Solyman offered him the command of the Turkish fleet; and Barbarossa, mingling the arts of a courtier with the boldness of a Corsair, soon gained the entire confidence both of the Sultan and Vizier; and prevailed on them to promote the plan he had formed for the conquest of Tunis; he sailed with a fleet of two hundred and fifty vessels; availed himself

himself of the rival claims which distracted the country; and compelled Muley Hascen the King to fly with precipitation before him. But while the Tunifians expected him to have proclaimed one of their native princes, in whose behalf he pretended to have armed, the name of Solymant, mingled with the shouts of the Turkish soldiers, revealed his treachery; and the people, unprepared for resistance, were compelled to acknowledge the Sultan as their sovereign, and Barbarossa as his viceroy.

Possessed of such extensive territories, he carried on his depredations against the Christian states to a greater extent than ever; he strengthened the citadel of Tunis; he fortified the fort of Goletta, which commands the bay, and made it the principal station for his fleet, and the Arsenal for his military stores. The outrages of his cruizers were the subject of continual complaint to the Emperor, and while the honour of that prince was concerned in the protection of his subjects, his compassion was interested by the solicitations of the exiled Hascen, who had escaped to Spain, and presented himself a suppliant before the Imperial throne. Animated by the thirst of fame, Charles readily yielded to his intreaties; he declared his design to command in person the armament destined for the invasion of Tunis; and the united strength of his dominions was called out upon an enterprize on which his
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glory depended. A Flemish fleet brought a body of German infantry; the gallies of Sicily took on board the veteran bands of Italy and Spain; the Emperor embarked at Barcelona with the flower of the Spanish chivalry, and was joined by a squadron from Portugal. Another squadron, though small, yet formidable from the valour of the knights, was equipped by the order of Malta; while Doria, with the title of High Admiral, conducted his own vessels, the best appointed at that time in Europe; and, under the Emperor, the command of the land forces was intrusted to the Marquis de Guaſto.

From Cagliari, in Sardinia, the general rendezvous, the fleet sailed about the middle of July; and after a prosperous navigation, the troops, consisting of above thirty thousand regulars, were landed within sight of Tunis. Nor had Barbarossa been destitute of either vigour or prudence, in preparing for his defence. He had assembled twenty thousand horse, and a considerable body of foot; but he presumed not with his light troops to encounter the Imperial veterans; and his chief confidence was placed in the strength of the Goletta. That fort was garrisoned by six thousand Turkish soldiers, under the command of Sinan, a renegado Jew, and one of the bravest and most experienced of the Corsairs. It was immediately invested by the Emperor; the Germans, the Spaniards, and the

the Italians rushed to the attack with that eager courage which national emulation inspires; though the skill of Sinan was seconded by the resolution of the garrison; though Barbarossa alarmed the Christian camp with continual incursions, yet the breaches of the Goletta soon became considerable, and the governor, with the remnant of the troops, was glad to escape from the fury of the assailants, over a shallow part of the Bay to the city.

With the fort, Charles became master of the fleet and arsenal of Barbarossa; yet the courage of the Corsair did not sink beneath the blow. The extent and feeble state of the walls of Tunis, determined him not to await a siege in his capital.—At the head of fifty thousand men, he boldly resolved to meet the Imperialists; but before he marched out, he proposed to his officers to massacre ten thousand Christian slaves, whom he had shut up in the citadel; inured as they were to blood, they startled with horror at the proposal; and Barbarossa, rather from the dread of irritating his own followers, than swayed by motives of humanity, consented to spare the lives of his captives.

The approach of the Imperial banners summoned him to the field; with loose ranks, and discordant shouts, the Moors and Arabs rushed to the encounter. But they could not long withstand the shock of regular battalions. The rout became

general ; and Barbarossa, after in vain endeavouring to rally his troops, was hurried along with them in their flight back to the city. But the event he had foreboded had already taken place ; the Christian slaves had gained two of their keepers, and knocking off their fetters, they had overpowered the Turkish garrison, and seized the citadel ; and Barbarossa, disappointed and enraged, exclaiming sometimes against the false compassion of his officers, and sometimes against his own imprudent compliance, fled with precipitation to Bona.

As Charles advanced slowly towards Tunis, a messenger from the slaves informed him of their success, and deputies arrived from the town to present him the keys of their gates, and to implore his protection from military violence ; but before he could issue the necessary orders, the soldiers, alarmed lest they should be deprived of the booty they had expected, precipitated themselves on the city, and Tunis was doomed to suffer all the excesses which lust and avarice, contempt and hatred, naturally inspire ; in one day thirty thousand of the innocent inhabitants perished ; and amidst the scene of horror, Charles lamented the fatal accident which had stained the lustre of his victory.

Muley Hascen took possession of a throne surrounded with carnage, and the treaty he entered into

into with Charles served still more to render him the object of detestation to his people. He consented to do homage for the crown of Tunis; he agreed to set at liberty all Christian slaves within his dominions, of whatever nation, without ransom; To allow the free exercise of the Christian religion to the Emperor's subjects; to exclude the Turkish Corsairs from his harbours; to deliver up the Goletta, with all the other sea ports which were fortified, to Charles; and to pay annually twelve thousand crowns for the subsistence of the garisons.

The sickly state of his army allowed not Charles to pursue the flying Barbarossa. He embarked again for Spain; but though deprived of the glory of leading in chains that daring Corsair, yet the lustre of his expedition dazzled the Eyes of Europe; and twenty thousand slaves, whom he had freed from bondage either by his arms, or his treaty with Muley, each of whom he clothed, and furnished with the means of returning to their respective countries, diffused the fame of their benefactor's munificence; and extolled his power and abilities with the exaggeration flowing from gratitude and admiration.

It was not alone in Africa that the star of Austria seemed predominant. The conquest of Mexico, by Cortes, had only sharpened the desires of the Spaniards for new adventures; they had discovered
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ed and subjected the rich kingdom of Peru, extending from North to South above fifteen hundred miles along the pacific ocean; and about the time that the Emperor undertook his expedition against Tunis, Francis Pizarro founded in the new world the city of Lima, destined to become the future capital of Peruvian opulence.

The conduct of Charles derived an increase of lustre, when contrasted with that of his rival Francis. While the former was engaged in breaking the fetters of the Christians in Africa, the latter was occupied in extending his intrigues through Italy. The treaty of Cambray had covered, but not extinguished, the flames of discord between those princes. And the execution of Merveille, a French Agent at Milan, whom Sforza, notwithstanding his public character, caused to be put to death, on account of his having killed his adversary in a duel, and whose fate Francis attributed to the influence of the Emperor, furnished the former with a pretext for hostilities. He burst into the territories of the Duke of Savoy, who had refused a passage to his troops, and stript that prince, already embarrassed by the revolt of the city of Geneva, of the greatest part of his dominions; and had he immediately advanced to Milan, he could scarcely have failed of obtaining possession of the dutchy.

Such was the situation of affairs when Charles landed from Tunis; but though he was bound in honour and policy to redress the injuries which had been offered to his ally the Duke of Savoy, he was still embarrassed for means. Most of the troops employed in the African expedition had been raised for that service alone, and on the conclusion of it had claimed their discharge; and the treasury of the Emperor had been drained by his extraordinary efforts against the infidels; the opportune death of Sforza, occasioned by the terror of a French invasion, which had been twice fatal to his family, afforded Charles leisure to prepare for action; he seized the duchy as a fief which reverted to the Empire; but at the same time he affected to admit the equity of Francis's claim, and seemed only solicitous about giving him possession in such a manner as might not overturn the balance of power in Italy.

A. D. 1536. While Francis, deceived by the professions of his rival, wasted the hours in negotiation, Charles improved the interval of leisure in providing funds and assembling forces for the war he meditated. He drew a considerable supply of money from the states of Naples and Sicily, and of troops from Germany; and no sooner did he find himself ready for action, than he threw off the mask, and in the presence of the Pope and Cardinals,

nals, reviled the King of France in the most indecent and opprobrious terms.

His invectives were supported by the sword; with forty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, he entered Piedmont; the forces of France retired before him; and the treachery of the Marquis de Saluces, who commanded them, facilitated the progress of the Emperor; that nobleman, by a superstitious faith in astrology, and a belief that the fatal period of the French nation was at hand, was induced to betray the cause of his sovereign and benefactor; and Charles having restored to the Duke of Savoy part of the territories that the French had wrested from him, without waiting to recover the rest, hastened to erect more splendid trophies on the banks of the Rhone.

On the side of the Low Countries, he had directed an army of Flemings to enter Picardy; and he flattered himself the Germans, under the King of the Romans, would penetrate into Champagne while he reserved for his own arms the invasion of Provence; in vain did his ministers and generals represent to him the danger of leading his troops to such a distance from his magazines, into countries which did not yield sufficient subsistence for their own inhabitants; in vain did they recall to his remembrance the fatal miscarriage of Bourbon and Pescara, who had undertaken the same enterprise, under circumstances which seemed as

certain to promise success ; blinded by the presumption that accompanies prosperity, and relying perhaps in some degree on the prophecies which predicted the increase of his own grandeur, Charles slighted their remonstrances, obstinately adhered to his opinions ; and even desired the historian Jovius to make a large provision of paper to record the victories he fondly flattered himself he should obtain.

But Francis had early discovered the design of his rival not to confine his operations to Piedmont and Savoy, but to push forward into the southern provinces of France. He himself was determined to remain on the defensive ; without hazarding a battle, to throw garrisons into the towns of the greatest strength, and to deprive the enemy of subsistence by laying waste the country before them. The execution of this plan he devolved on the Mareschal Montmorency ; a man haughty and severe ; confident in his own abilities, and despising those of others ; and in the prosecution of his schemes alike regardless of love and of pity.

Such a man failed not to execute his trust with unfeeling punctuality ; he pitched his camp under the walls of Avignon, at the confluence of the Rhone and the Durance, and converted the country round into a desert. When Charles, sanguine and ardent, entered Provence, he was struck with the silence and desolation that reigned from the Alps

Marseilles, from the sea to the confines of Dauphiné. A few defenceless towns immediately submitted to him; but the fields, destitute of cattle or grain, chilled the hopes of the invaders; his fleet was long detained by contrary winds, and afforded at last but a scanty and precarious supply. The camp of Montmorency defied his arms; the cities of Arles and Marseilles had been strengthened by new fortifications, and repulsed his feeble attempts. After having consumed two inglorious months in Provence, and having lost one half of his troops by disease or famine, Charles reluctantly gave the signal for retreat; even this last and ungrateful expedient which necessity enforced, was executed with difficulty; the light troops of the enemy hung upon his rear; and swarms of peasants were eager to avenge on the Imperialists the calamities they had brought on their country. The road was strewn with their arms and baggage, which in their hurry and trepidation they had abandoned; and nothing could have saved them from utter destruction, but the pertinacious caution of Montmorency, who still adhered to his original system, and often repeated his favourite maxim, that a bridge of gold ought to be made for a flying enemy.

On the side of Picardy, the Flemings, after a fruitless attempt on Peronne, had retired within their own limits; the Germans had refused to assist

the ambitious enterprizes of a prince whose rising power they dreaded ; and Charles having conducted the remnant of his forces to Milan, proceeded to Genoa, and embarked for Spain ; incapable of enduring the scorn of the Italians after such a sad reverse of fortune ; and unwilling, under his present circumstances, to revisit those cities through which he had so lately passed in triumph as the conqueror of Tunis.

A. D. 1537. The next year opened with a scene as singular as it was unworthy the author of it.—The King of France summoned the Emperor, as his vassal, for the counties of Artois and Flanders, to appear before the Parliament of Paris ; and on his refusal, declared those fiefs forfeited by his contumacy and rebellion. As if to execute this sentence, Francis marched towards the Low Countries, and possessed himself of several towns. These were soon retaken by the superior forces of the Flemings ; who, in their turn, invested Terouanne. The Dauphin and Montmorency advanced to relieve it ; but when they were within a few miles of the enemy, and a battle appeared unavoidable, they were stopt by the intelligence that a suspension of arms was agreed upon.

A. D. 1538. The enmity of both monarchs seems to have exceeded their resources ; and their coffers were exhausted by their frequent and bloody wars ; the alliance of Solymán with the French King operated

rated as an additional motive for peace; and while Charles dreaded the formidable armaments of the Sultan, who had defeated the Germans in an obstinate but decisive battle at Essak on the Drave, Francis was not insensible to the infamy which accompanied his confederacy with infidels against a Christian prince; though innumerable difficulties opposed a definitive treaty, each monarch affected to listen to the exhortations of the Roman pontiff, who, as their common father, had maintained the neutrality suitable to his character; and the truce which their mutual necessities had prescribed for ten months in the Low Countries, was, by the mediation of Paul, stretched to Piedmont, and extended to ten years.

A few days after signing the treaty of Nice, the Emperor was driven, in his passage to Barcelona, by contrary winds, on the island of St. Margaret, on the coast of Provence. Francis, informed of this circumstance, invited him to take shelter in his dominions, and proposed a personal interview at Aigues Mortes. To this Charles consented; the two rivals, after twenty years open hostilities, vied with each other in demonstrations of regard; from implacable hatred, they appeared to pass in a moment to the most cordial reconciliation; and from practising all the dark arts of a deceitful policy, their conduct proved to the world they could

at pleasure assume the liberal manners of two gallant gentlemen.

A. D. 1539. Charles had scarce reached Spain, before he had the mortification to find that the suspension of foreign war was far from being attended with the restoration of internal tranquillity; his troops, to whom vast arrears were due, broke out into open sedition; they plundered the Milanese; threatened to deliver up the Goletta to Barbarossa; and pillaged the most opulent cities of Sicily; these insurrections were quelled by the prudence and address of the Imperial generals, who, by borrowing money in their own name and that of their master, and by extorting large sums from the towns within their respective provinces, raised sufficient to discharge the arrears of their soldiers; and to avoid a similar danger, disbanded the greatest part of the troops.

Before the happy effects of their zeal was known to the Emperor, that monarch had endeavoured again to awaken the liberality of his Castilian subjects. For this purpose he assembled the Cortes at Toledo, and having represented the extraordinary expence of his military operations, he proposed to levy such supplies as the exigency of his affairs demanded, by a general excise on commodities. But the Spaniards, who had often complained that their country was drained not only of its wealth but its inhabitants, in order to fight battles, in which it

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was not interested, determined not to furnish the Emperor with the means of engaging in new enterprises. The nobles, in particular, inveighed with great vehemence against the imposition proposed, as an encroachment upon the privilege of their order, which was exempted from the payment of any tax. They demanded a conference with the representatives of the cities, concerning the state of the nation; and they contended if Charles would imitate the example of his predecessors, who had resided constantly in Spain, and would avoid entangling himself in a multitude of transactions, foreign to his Spanish dominions, the stated revenues of the Crown would be fully sufficient to defray the necessary expences of government. After employing arguments, entreaties, and promises, without success, Charles dismissed them with indignation. From that period, neither the nobles nor the prelates have been called to these assemblies, on pretence that such as pay no part of the taxes should not claim any vote in laying them on; and none have been admitted but the representatives of eighteen cities. These, to the number of thirty-six, two from each community, compose the modern Cortes, which bears no resemblance either in power or in dignity to the ancient assembly of that name, and has ever been at the absolute devotion of the court; and the nobles beheld too late that the imprudence with which they had supported

ported the Crown in the war against the Junta, had at length proved fatal to the influence of their own order.

Yet though deprived of their wonted political prerogatives, as a body, the personal privileges which were still attached to them as individuals, they defended with an haughtiness peculiar to themselves. Of this the Emperor had a mortifying proof during the meeting of the Cortes at Toledo. As he was returning from a tournament, one of the serjeants of the court, to make way for him, struck the Duke of Infantado's horse, who resenting the insult, drew his sword, and beat and wounded the officer. Charles, provoked at this daring action in his presence, ordered Ronquillo, the judge of the court, to arrest the duke; but Ronquillo was checked by the Constable of Castille, who claimed the right of jurisdiction over a grandee as a privilege of his office, and conducted Infantado to his apartment. All the nobles present were so pleased with the boldness of the constable in asserting the rights of their order, that, deserting the Emperor, they attended him to his house with infinite applause; and Charles returned to the palace, unaccompanied by any person but the Cardinal Tavera. The Emperor, sensible of the danger of irritating men of such high and determined spirit, instead of straining any ill-timed exertion of his prerogative, prudently connived at

at the affront, and sent next morning to the Duke of Infantado, offering to inflict what punishment he pleased on the person who had insulted him : the Duke considering this as a full reparation to his honour, instantly forgave the officer, bestowing on him besides a considerable compensation for his wound ; but though the affair was happily adjusted, it remains on record as a proof of the high-spirited manners of the Castilian nobles, and the dextrous policy of the Emperor, which could accommodate itself to every circumstance.

Charles was far from discovering the same condescension towards the citizens of Ghent. The inhabitants of that rich but turbulent city, had refused to be included in a vote of supply of the states of the United Provinces, of which their representatives were members ; and had asserted that no tax could be levied upon them, without their express consent : the deputies which they had sent to urge their pretensions to Charles, had been repulsed with haughtiness, and the inhabitants of Ghent, enraged at this treatment, had rushed to arms, had seized the Imperial officers, and erecting the standard of rebellion, had not only offered to accept of the King of France as a sovereign, but had promised to assist him in recovering those provinces in the Netherlands, which had formerly been annexed to his crown.

Their revolt and negociation filled Charles with the utmost inquietude; though by repeating his wonted arts, and affecting an inclination to gratify Francis by the cession of the Milanese, he secured the neutrality of the latter, and prevailed upon him to dismiss the deputies from Ghent with an harsh answer; yet when he considered the genius and disposition of his subjects in the Netherlands, their love of liberty, their attachment to ancient privileges and customs, as well as the invincible obstinacy with which they persevered in any measure, he was convinced his presence alone could restrain the rising discontent. But his route by land through Italy and Germany would have been tedious, and his voyage by sea uncertain; and contrary to the unanimous remonstrances of his counsellors, he resolved, as the most expeditious way, to demand the permission of Francis to pass through his territories; while he requested this favour from the latter, he instructed Granvelle, his ambassador, to promise he would soon settle the affairs of the Milanese; but at the same time he entreated that no new engagement might be exacted from him, lest what he granted at this juncture might seem rather to be extorted by necessity than to flow from a love of justice; and Francis, judging from his own heart, and dazzled by the splendor of overcoming an enemy by acts of
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of generosity, assented at once to all that was demanded.

A. D. 1540. Charles, to whom every moment was precious, immediately set out with a small, but splendid, train of about an hundred persons. In all the towns through which he passed, the greatest magnificence was displayed; the king advanced to Chatelherault to meet him; and they proceeded together to Paris; but the allurements of that capital detained not the Emperor above six days; he was conscious of the dissingenuous part he was acting; and he trembled lest Francis might be tempted to avail himself of the advantage in his hands. He pleaded the necessity of his presence in the Low Countries; and he was accompanied as far as St. Quintin by his generous and unsuspecting rival.

The citizens of Ghent were incapable of resisting their offended prince, who advanced, at the head of a numerous army, drawn from Germany, or levied in the Netherlands; to their ambassadors, who implored his mercy, and offered to set open their gates, he sternly replied, that he would appear among them as their sovereign, with the sceptre in one hand, and the sword in the other. Though he chose to enter the city on the twenty-fourth of February, his birth-day, he was far from being touched with that tenderness or indulgence which was natural towards the place of his nativity.

vity. Twenty-six of the principal citizens were put to death, a greater number was sent into banishment. The city was declared to have forfeited all its privileges and immunities; the revenues belonging to it were confiscated; its ancient form of government was abolished; a strong citadel was erected to bridle the seditious spirit of the inhabitants; and by these rigorous proceedings, Charles set an awful example of severity before his other subjects in the Netherlands, who should presume to oppose the will of their sovereign.

But if in the reduction of the citizens of Ghent his vigour must be applauded, the duplicity he used to Francis has fixed the foulest blot on the annals of his reign. Though at first he condescended to elude the demands of the French ambassadors, who required, in the name of their master, the cession of the Milanese, yet no sooner had he established his authority in the Low Countries, then he threw off the mask, and denied that he had ever made any promise which could bind him to an action so foolish as to strengthen an enemy by diminishing his own power.

A. D. 1541. While the French monarch discharged on his ministers the indignation he felt at being thus duped by his rival, the Emperor, assured of the submission of the Netherlands, directed his attention to the affairs of Germany. He summoned

moned a Diet at Ratisbon, in which was opened a conference between the Popish and Protestant divines; but however inclined Charles might be to favour the opinions of the former, he dreaded to exasperate the latter; Francis, he knew, only waited for a favourable opportunity to commence hostilities; and the progress of Solymán in Hungary, who had seized, by treachery, the important city of Buda, afforded him the most serious apprehensions for the safety of Austria; thus circumstanced, though the Diet of Ratisbon had rather confirmed than impeached the papal authority, Charles privately assured the reformed that no steps should be taken detrimental to their interests; and the Protestants, satisfied with these assurances, concurred in granting such liberal supplies of men and money for the war against the Turks, as enabled him to leave Germany without the least anxiety about the consequences of the ensuing campaign.

Immediately on his arrival in his Italian dominions, Charles prepared for the execution of an enterprise that he had long revolved. Ever since Barbarossa had commanded the Ottoman fleet, Algiers had been governed by Hascen Aga, a renegade Eunuch, who, in his piratical depredations on the Christian states, surpassed, if possible, Barbarossa himself in boldness and cruelty. The commerce of the Mediterranean was nearly annihilated, and

and the coasts of Spain continually alarmed by his numerous cruizers. The clamorous complaints of his subjects, and the remembrance of the glory that he had acquired in his late expedition to Africa, inflamed Charles with the desire of conquering Algiers. Before he left Madrid, in his way to the Low Countries, he had issued orders, both in Spain and Italy, to prepare a fleet and army for that purpose. And on his return from Germany, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Andrew Doria, who represented the danger of approaching the African coast at such an advanced season of the year, he proceeded to Sardinia, the place of general rendezvous. The force, indeed, which he had collected, might have inspired a prince less adventurous, and less confident in his own schemes, with the most sanguine hopes of success. It consisted of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, mostly veterans, together with three thousand volunteers, the flower of the Spanish and Italian nobility, and a thousand soldiers sent from Malta, by the order of St. John, and led by an hundred of its most gallant knights.

After a tedious and tempestuous navigation, Charles anchored off the coast of Africa, landed his troops, and advanced immediately towards the town. To oppose the invaders, Hascen had only eight hundred Turks, and five thousand Moors; and the motley band might be well despised by a prince

prince who had vanquished Barbarossa at the head of sixty thousand men. But the triumph which Charles already anticipated in fancy, was snatched from him by a calamity, against which human prudence, and human efforts, were of no avail. On the second day after his landing, the clouds began to gather, and the sky to assume a threatening aspect. The fury of the tempest swelled towards night; and the soldiers, who brought ashore nothing but their arms, were exposed to all its rage. Their camp was overflowed; at every step they sunk into the mud; and to resist the violence of the wind, they were forced to recline on their spears; to complete their distress, at dawn of day, Hascen sallied from the city, and with his followers fresh and vigorous, scattered slaughter and dismay through the ranks of the benumbed and disheartened Christians; nor did he retire until the Emperor advanced in person with his main body to repulse him.

The return of light served only to augment the grief and consternation of the Imperialists. At sea the effects of the hurricane had been felt with more fatal violence. The ships, on which the whole army knew their safety and subsistence depended, were driven from their anchors, dashed against the rocks, or overwhelmed by the waves. In less than an hour fifteen ships of war, and an hundred and forty transports with eight thousand men, perished; and such of the unhappy crews who escaped the

sea, were murdered, without mercy, by the Arabs, as soon as they reached the land. The Emperor beheld in silent anguish, the hopes he had flattered himself with for ever blasted, and the vast stores which he had provided buried in the deep. It was doubtful whether as many vessels could be saved as would transport back the survivors to Europe; another night was passed in all the agony of suspense and disappointment. The next day, a boat, dispatched by Doria, gained the shore, and informed Charles, that after having weathered out the storm, to which, in fifty years knowledge of the sea, he had never seen any equal in fierceness, he had borne away, with his shattered ships, to Cape Metafuz, and he advised the Emperor to march with all speed to that place, where the troops could re-embark with greater ease.

Whatever gleam of hope this information imparted was clouded by new cares. Metafuz was at least three days march from the present camp; the provisions which had been at first brought on shore were consumed; and the troops, worn out with fatigue, were in no condition to encounter new toils. But the danger allowed them not to deliberate. The wounded, the sick, and the feeble, were placed in the centre, and such as seemed more vigorous in the front and rear. Many sunk beneath the weight of their arms; many were swept away by the brooks, which had been swelled into torrents by the rains;

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numbers were slaughtered by the Arabs, who incessantly hung on their rear; and famine was scarce less fatal than the sword. The meagre remnant arrived at length at Metafuz, where their communication with the fleet restored them to plenty, and to the hope of safety.

During this dreadful series of calamities, Charles discovered qualities which prosperity hitherto had allowed him scarce any opportunity to display. His magnanimity, fortitude, and humanity appeared conspicuous. He endured the same hardships as the meanest soldier; he exposed his own person wherever danger threatened; he encouraged the desponding; visited the sick and wounded; and animated all by his words and example. Though a body of Arabs hovered round his rear, he was the last who left the shore; and his obstinacy and presumption, in undertaking the enterprise, were palliated by the virtues he exerted in conducting it.

After a long and stormy voyage, he disembarked in Spain; but such had been the consequence of his ambition, and such were the extent of his dominions, that he could scarce breathe from past toils, before he found himself summoned to new. Impatient to take vengeance on the duplicity of the Emperor, Francis had filled every court in Europe with his negotiations; but Solyman alone embraced his proffered alliance; as two of his agents were returning from the Ottoman Porte, they were assassinated

at the instigation of the Marquis de Gualto, who, from their dispatches hoped to penetrate the designs of the French King ; the latter loudly accused this foul violation of the laws of nations, and demanded the punishment of the contriver of the atrocious deed. His demands were eluded ; and he gladly embraced the opportunity of extorting by arms, that justice which had been denied to his representations.

A. D. 1542. Before Charles could prepare to resist the storm, five formidable armies invaded his dominions, and those of his ally the Duke of Savoy. The objects of their operations were Spain, Luxembourg, Brabant, Flanders, and Piedmont. In the two former countries, the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans opened the campaign about the same time. The first laid siege to Perpignan, the capital of Roussillon ; the last entered Luxembourg, and reduced the greatest part of the Dutchy. But on a report that the Emperor was advancing to relieve Perpignan, the Duke of Orleans imprudently abandoned his conquests, and hastened to join the army of the Dauphin. However anxious the Emperor might be for the fate of that city, he determined not to hazard a decisive engagement ; but committed the defence of it to the persevering valour of the Duke of Alva. The French, after a siege of three months, wasted by diseases, and repulsed in several attacks, abandoned the undertaking, and retired into their own country.

try. Their attempts in Brabant, Flanders, and Piedmont, were almost equally unsuccessful ; and Charles had the satisfaction to behold the strength of his rival consumed in fruitless enterprises.

A. D. 1543. He himself, from the moment that the war had commenced, had been assiduously employed in preparing for the contest. Ti • Cortes, impressed by terror and resentment at the invasion of Spain, granted him subsidies with a more liberal hand than usual. On the security of the Molucca isles he borrowed of John, King of Portugal, a considerable sum of money ; he negotiated a marriage between his son Philip, and Mary the daughter of that monarch, to whom her father gave a large dowry. He obtained donatives from the states of Arragon and Valencia ; for a valuable consideration from Cosmo de Medici, he consented to withdraw the garrisons he had hitherto kept in the citadels of Florence and Leghorn ; and he prevailed on Henry of England, disgusted with the close connection that Francis had maintained with Scotland, to declare openly on his side.

A. D. 1544. Under these circumstances, it might have been expected that Charles would have opened the campaign with vigour ; but after providing for the security of Spain, and detaching a considerable body of Spanish troops to the Netherlands, he passed into Germany ; and while he contented himself with punishing the insolence of the Duke of Cleves, who

had imitated the conduct of Robert de la Marck, he suffered Francis to ravage Luxembourg, and in conjunction with the Sultan to invest Nice.

A. D. 1545. Of this last enterprize Charles however availed himself with his usual dexterity ; he represented to the Diet assembled at Spire, that a war with Francis and Solyman ought to be considered as the same thing ; and that it was folly to oppose the Turk in Hungary when such a powerful ally received him in the centre of Europe ; at the same time, he gained the Protestants by suspending all rigorous edicts that had been issued against them ; and the Diet, vanquished by his intrigues and arguments, consented to levy and maintain a body of twenty-four thousand foot, and four thousand horse, to be employed against France.

In the treaty between the Emperor and the King of England, they had agreed each to invade France, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, to penetrate directly through the interior provinces, and to join their forces near Paris. But before the Emperor could assemble his troops, he received the intelligence of an event which threatened the most fatal consequences to his grandeur in Italy,

Early in the spring, the young Count d'Enguien, whose military talents revived the memory of Gaston de Foix, had penetrated into Piedmont, and invested Carignan. To relieve it, the Marquis de Guasto resolved to hazard a battle. But though
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the army of the latter exceeded greatly in number that of his adversaries, and the plain of Cerisoles, in which they engaged, afforded to neither party any advantage of ground, yet the Imperialists were totally routed; ten thousand slain; and their camp and artillery taken. On this occasion, Gualto is said not to have displayed his wonted presence of mind; he dreaded falling into the hands of the French, who were exasperated against him, on account of the murder of their agents from Constantinople; he forgot to order a large body of reserve to advance; and wounded in his thigh, it was alone by the swiftness of his horse that he escaped the pursuit of the victors.

Though Charles could not but feel this blow, yet had Henry and he acted up to their original plan, rapidly penetrated through Picardy, and joined their forces near Paris, that capital must have acknowledged a foreign master. But while the King of England laid siege to Boulogne, the Emperor, with fifty thousand men, invested St. Dizier; nor could either be prevailed on to abandon the enterprise he had undertaken. After a siege of five weeks, St. Dizier surrendered; but Charles, in the attack, had lost a number of his best troops; his army began to clamour for want of pay, and the scarcity of provisions increased their discontent; he contrived, indeed, to surprise Espernay and Chateau-Thierry, on the direct route to Paris; but the

interval had allowed Francis to recall part of his forces from Piedmont, and the Emperor beheld in his front a numerous army, commanded by the Dauphin, whom no artifices could allure to stake the fortune of his country on the event of an action. Harassed by the enemy, and distressed for subsistence, Charles fell back to Soissons; and having in vain summoned Henry to quit the siege of Boulogne, and press forwards to Paris, he determined, without further attention to his ally, to listen to the overtures of peace that had been made him.

The last treaty between Charles and Francis was signed at Crespy, a small town near Meaux. The chief articles of it were, that all the conquests which either party had made since the truce of Nice, should be restored; that the Emperor should give in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, either his own eldest daughter, or the second daughter of his brother Ferdinand; that with the former he should bestow the Netherlands, with the latter, the Dutchy of Milan; that within four months he should fix on one of the princesses, and within a year fulfil the respective conditions; that as soon as the Duke of Orleans was put in possession of the Netherlands or Milan, Francis should restore to the Duke of Savoy all that he possessed of his territories, except Pignerol and Montmelian; that he should also renounce all pretensions to Naples, and the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, while Charles, on his side,

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was to relinquish his claims on the Dutchy of Burgundy and the country of Charolois; and that both monarchs should join in making war on the Turk, to which the French King should furnish, when required by the Emperor and the empire, six hundred men at arms, and ten thousand foot.

Chapter the Fifteenth.

Private Article of Crespy—Progress of the Tenets of Luther—Charles sets out for Germany—Character of Maurice, Duke of Saxony—Council of Trent—Death of Luther—Measures of the Emperor—Diet of Ratisbon—The Members of the League of Smalkalde take arms—The Emperor puts them under the Ban of the Empire—He assembles his Forces—Conduct of the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse—Maurice invades the Elector's Dominions—The Forces of the Confederates separate—Many submit to Charles—Jealousy of the Pope—Opportune Death of Francis—Charles defeats and makes Prisoner the Elector of Saxony, whose Territories and Dignity are transferred to Maurice—Perfidy of Charles to the Landgrave of Hesse—The City of Magdeburg resists the Interim—Unsuccessful Project of Charles to transmit the Imperial Crown to his Son—Conduct of Maurice—He reconciles himself to the Protestants—Forms a League against the Emperor—His Artifices—Suddenly takes Arms in Conjunction with France—Consents to a Conference with the King of the Romans at Lintz—Nearly surprises the Emperor at Inspuck—Negociations and Treaty of Passau.

THOUGH it certainly was not without reluctance that Charles had consented to part with the Milanese, which he had acquired at such a vast expence

pence of blood and treasure, yet he would probably have punctually fulfilled the treaty of Crespy, and he had already declared his intention of giving the daughter of Ferdinand in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, when he was spared the mortification of surrendering so rich a part of his Italian dominions, by an event as opportune as it was unexpected. In the flower of his age, the Duke of Orleans was suddenly attacked by a malignant fever ; his death released Charles from his engagements ; nor would he listen to any proposal from Francis, who in vain solicited for some reparation for the advantages he had lost by the demise of his son ; in consequence of his refusal, the French King kept possession of the territories that he had wrested from the Duke of Savoy, who arraigned the ingratitude, without shaking the resolution, of his Imperial ally.

The public articles of the treaty of Crespy have already been enumerated ; but it was a private condition, which it was deemed prudent to conceal, that chiefly influenced the Emperor to sign the peace ; and Charles and Francis solemnly, though secretly, confederated to exert their power in exterminating the Protestant heresy. The Spaniards, austere and bigoted, enamoured of the pomp of the Romish church, by nature little inclined to theological disquisition, and by policy severely restrained by the vigilant rigour of the inquisition, never imbibed the doctrines of Luther ; yet so various were the do-
minions

minions their sovereigns possessed, that under three successive princes it was their fate to be involved in bloody and incessant wars to oppose the progress of the reformation; and in the fruitless conflict, their grandeur was broken, and their strength exhausted.

Even while the reins were held by the vigorous hand of Charles, they felt, in some measure, the evils which arose from his divided attention; that prince had been confined some time by the gout at Brussels; but no sooner did his health allow him to travel, than he set out for Germany, to preside in the Diet of Worms. He found the Protestants still more than ever averse to a coalition with the church of Rome, and still more jealous of his designs.— But they were far from being united in their efforts; at the head of the League of Smalkalde still remained the Elector of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse; but the Elector Palatine, the Elector of Brandenburg, and Maurice, who, with the title of Duke, governed that part of Saxony which belonged to the Albertine branch of the Saxon family, though they professed themselves sincerely attached to the tenets of Luther, had refused to accede to the confederacy of their Protestant brethren.

Though only in his twenty-fourth year, Maurice had already begun to discover those great talents which qualified him for acting such a distinguished part in the affairs of Germany. He had early courted the favour of the Emperor with the utmost assiduity;

duity; had led to his assistance, during the last campaign, a body of his own troops; and by the gracefulness of his person, his dexterity in all military exercises, his intrepidity and insinuating address, had gained the confidence and favour of Charles. As his penetration convinced him of the approaching rupture between the Emperor and the confederates of Smalkalde, and equally enabled him to discern which party would prevail, he continued his attentions to the former with an increase of zeal; he was probably further stimulated to this, by the jealousy he had entertained of his cousin the Elector of Saxony; soon after Maurice's accession to government, they had both taken arms for the right of jurisdiction over an obscure town on the Moldaw. But they were prevented from proceeding to action by the mediation of the Landgrave of Hesse, whose daughter Maurice had married, as well as by the powerful and authoritative admonitions of Luther. But the subject of dispute still remained impressed on the mind of Maurice; and when the Emperor in the Diet of Worms demanded of the Protestants to acknowledge the decisions of the council of Trent which the Pope had summoned, soon after the treaty of Crespy, while the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse disclaim all connexion with that assembly, Maurice alone, separating himself

self from his Protestant brethren, seemed inclined to accede to the wishes of his sovereign.

A. D. 1546. Though the Emperor still endeavoured to conceal his designs, and to delude the reformed by the professions of amity, yet all foresaw the tempest that impended over their heads. The death of Luther, at this critical juncture, served to depress the spirits of his party; that wonderful man, though in a declining state of health, and during a rigorous season, having undertaken a journey to his native city of Eisleban, to compose, by his authority, a dissension among the counts of Mansfield, he was seized with a violent inflammation in his stomach, which in a few days put an end to his life, in the sixty-third year of his age, and preserved him from the mortification of beholding the humiliation of the tenets he had inculcated. The account of his decease filled the Catholic party with indecent joy; even the Emperor himself could not entirely conceal his satisfaction; and encouraged by the event, he applied himself with redoubled ardour to exterminate the doctrines which the hand of Luther had planted.

By a long series of artifice and fallacy, he had gained so much time, that his measures, though not altogether ripe for execution, were in great forwardness. He had concluded a truce for five years with the Ottoman Porte; the chief article of which

which was, that each should retain possession of what he held in Hungary; he had assembled a considerable body of forces in the Low Countries, and while he had artfully and silently fomented the private jealousies of the Protestants, he had used his utmost address to attach to himself the Catholic princes of Germany.

Thus prepared, he summoned the Diet to Ratisbon; the majority of the Roman Catholic members appeared in person, but most of the Protestants, apprehensive of violence, sent only deputies. The Emperor opened the meeting, by professing his regard for the prosperity of the Germanic body; by lamenting the unhappy dissensions about religion, and the ill success of his endeavours to compose them, and craved their advice with regard to the best and most effectual method of restoring union to the churches in Germany. By this gracious appearance of consulting the members, he avoided discovering his own sentiments, nor was he less sure of such a decision as he wished to obtain. The Roman Catholic members joined immediately in representing that the authority of the Council of Trent ought to be supreme in all matters of controversy; the feeble memorial of the Protestants was scarcely read; and Charles, sanctioned by a decree of the Diet, commanded the troops he had raised in the Low Countries to advance towards Germany, pushed
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on his new levies with vigour, and signed a treaty with the Pope, by which the latter agreed to furnish him, for the extirpation of heresy, with an army of twelve thousand foot, and five hundred horse.

The Protestants, from such formidable armaments, could no longer doubt of his intentions; they determined to prepare for their own defence; though their applications to the Venetians and the Swiss, to Henry and Francis, had proved fruitless, though many of their own members were intimidated by the weight of Imperial power, yet such were the resources of the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Duke of Wirtemberg, the Princes of Anhalt, and the Imperial cities of Augsbourg, Ulm, and Straßbourg, that in a few weeks they were enabled to assemble an army of seventy thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse, provided with a train of an hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, eight hundred ammunition waggons, eight thousand beasts of burden, and six thousand pioneers.

Had they immediately advanced, they must have overwhelmed Charles, shut up in Ratisbon with only three thousand Spanish troops, and about five thousand Germans, who had joined him from different parts of the empire. But they could not think of throwing off their allegiance, without one solemn appeal more to his candour, and to the impartial judgement of their fellow subjects. To
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the Emperor they addressed a letter, to the inhabitants of Germany a manifesto; the tenor of both was the same; they represented their own conduct, with regard to civil affairs, as dutiful and submissive; they asserted religion to be the sole cause of the violence that was meditated against them; and they declared their own resolution to risk every thing in maintenance of their religious rights, and foretold the dissolution of the German constitution, if their enemies should finally prevail against them.

The only reply of Charles to their letter and manifesto was, by publishing the ban of the empire against the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse, and all who should dare to assist them. The confederates perceiving all hopes of accommodation at an end, sent an herald to the Imperial camp, with a solemn declaration of war, and formally renounced their homage to Charles.

But the Emperor had profited by their hesitation; from Ratisbon he had removed to Landshut on the Isar, where he was joined by the troops which Paul had stipulated to furnish, and by six thousand Spaniards of the veteran bands usually stationed in Naples. With these, which swelled his army to thirty-six thousand men, still more formidable for their discipline and their valour than their numbers, he continued his march to Ingoldstadt, on the Danube; but his camp was not yet

fortified, when he was informed of the approach of the confederates.

The Protestants found the Imperialists covered only by a slight entrenchment; in front stretched a plain of such extent, as afforded sufficient space for drawing out their whole army, and bringing it to act at once; and the Landgrave of Hesse, by nature impetuous and enterprising, wished to have embraced the opportunity, and to have decided by a general action the fate of the two parties; but the Elector of Saxony, though intrepid in his own person to excess, was slow in deliberating, and still more irresolute in his determinations; he urged the danger of attacking such a body of veterans, animated by the presence of the Emperor, and on ground which they themselves had chosen. While he hesitated, the moment for action was suffered to elapse; and when the confederates advanced next morning, they beheld the Imperialists strongly fortified by new works.

A reinforcement of ten thousand foot, and four thousand horse, which the Count of Buren had conducted from the Low Countries, did not change the determination of Charles to wait within his lines, until the jealousies and necessities of the Protestants should dissolve their force. He was confirmed in this plan by the secret league he had concluded with Maurice of Saxony. The commencement of hostilities had opened fresh prospects of
ambition

ambition to the latter, and he had engaged to concur in assisting the Emperor, on condition that he should be invested with the spoils of his kinsman the Elector; so perfect a master was he in dissimulation, that the confederates had never suspected his plan; and it was with the utmost astonishment the Elector received the intelligence, that Maurice, in obedience to the Imperial orders, had burst into his dominions, and with the exception of Wittemberg, Gotha, and Eisenach, had made himself master of the whole electorate.

Though the hopes of the Protestants depended on their keeping their main army entire, yet so urgent was the Elector to march to the relief of his subjects, that the confederates could not resist his importunities; he pressed forwards with a considerable body towards Saxony; his departure was the signal of general separation; and the soldiers, under their respective leaders, returned into their own countries.

A. D. 1547. No sooner did the Emperor behold that vast host which had so long menaced him dissolved, than, regardless of the severity of the season, in the depth of winter he put his troops in motion; the terror of his approach insured submission; the Duke of Wurtemburgh, the cities of Ulm, Augsburgh, and Straßburgh, consented to purchase their pardon by the payment of immense fines; that of the Duke of Wurtemburgh was fixed at three

hundred thousand crowns; and it was augmented by the humiliating circumstance of being obliged to implore the mercy of the Emperor on his knees.

While Charles thus rigidly employed the moments of victory, his ally Maurice dreaded in his capital of Dresden the punishment of his perfidy. Incapable of withstanding in the field the superior forces of the Elector, he had not only lost his late acquisitions, but beheld himself stripped of his own territories; while his couriers vainly represented his dangerous situation, and implored the Emperor to march to his relief.

That relief Charles was incapable of imparting; in the first moment of victory, considering the Spaniards, the Germans, and the papal forces, sufficient to crush any further resistance, he had dismissed, from motives of economy, his Flemish troops; but the rapid success of the Emperor had opened the eyes of Paul; those fears which he had entertained for the supremacy of the papal see, he now cherished for the independence of Italy; and he suddenly recalled his forces. At the same time, Charles was informed that his ancient rival Francis had entered into negotiations with the confederates; had renewed his intrigues with the Sultan and the King of England; and was preparing to pour again the torrent of his arms on Italy.

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From that danger which he beheld, but knew not how to avert, he was preserved by that good fortune so remarkably propitious to his family, that some historians have called it the *Star of the House of Austria*. Francis died at Rambouillet on the last day of March, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign; by this event the Emperor was freed from the disquietude he laboured under; and no sooner was he informed of it, than he began his march from Egra on the borders of Bohemia, and pushing forward with incredible ardour, beheld the Saxons posted near Muhlberg, on the opposite banks of the Elbe.

The Imperial army consisted but of sixteen thousand men; but these were chiefly the hardy veterans of Spain and Italy, long accustomed to victory; and at their head, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Maurice, and the Duke of Alva, the Emperor, impatient to terminate the contest, resolved to cross the Elbe, though above three hundred paces in breadth and four in depth. He executed this daring project with equal courage and success; mounted on a Spanish horse, dressed in a sumptuous habit, and with a javelin in his hand, he led his cavalry in person. Their united efforts broke the violence of the stream; they charged and put to flight the guards on the opposite bank; and, animated by the spirit of their Imperial

rial leader, rushed forward to encounter the Saxon army, which was encamped at a small distance.

During these operations, the Elector had remained inactive; but no sooner was he informed that the Imperialists had passed the Elbe, than he gave orders to retreat to Wittemberg. The troops had scarce began to march, when the van of the enemy appeared in view; and the Elector saw an engagement was unavoidable. As he was no less bold in action than irresolute in council, he made his disposition with the greatest presence of mind and in the most advantageous manner. But his soldiers were already vanquished in their own fears; and the shock would not have been doubtful, if the personal courage of the Elector had not revived the spirit of his troops in the part where he fought.— But Charles led the flower of the Imperial army; who, sensible they combated under the eye of their sovereign, charged with redoubled fury. The Saxons fled; the Elector, wounded in the face, and exhausted with fatigue, surrendered himself a prisoner; and after enduring the reproaches of the Emperor, with an unaltered countenance, which discovered neither astonishment nor dejection, accompanied the Spanish soldiers appointed to guard him.

Undismayed by the disaster, his magnanimous consort, Sybilla, aspired to defend his capital of Wittemberg; but she yielded to the menace that
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her resistance would be immediately fatal to the life of her husband. Her solicitations prevailed on the Elector to sign the articles which Charles had dictated ; by these the former resigned the electoral dignity for himself and his posterity, to be disposed of according to the Emperor's pleasure ; in return he was to receive the city of Gotha and its territories, with a pension of fifty thousand florins ; but he was to continue the prisoner of the victor during his life, and Charles had even subjoined the condition that he should submit to the decrees of the Pope and council in whatever regarded religion ; but the last article was rejected by the Elector with inflexible constancy ; and though he had agreed to sacrifice those objects which men commonly hold most dear, nothing could persuade him to act in opposition to the dictates of his conscience.

As soon as the Saxon garrison marched out of Wittemberg, that city, as well as the electorate, was delivered to Maurice. Of the chiefs who had formed the league of Smalkalde, the Landgrave of Hesse remained alone in arms ; but his spirit had been broken by the scene which he had witnessed ; he compared his own weakness with the power of his adversary ; and he consented to accept his son-in-law Maurice, and the Elector of Brandenburg, as mediators between himself and the Emperor. He was required to surrender his

person and his territories ; to implore pardon on his knees ; to pay an hundred and fifty thousand crowns towards the expences of the war ; and to demolish the fortifications of all the towns in his dominions. But though Charles would suffer nothing to be added which should restrain him from behaving as he pleased to a prince whom he considered as absolutely at his disposal, he gave such assurances to the Elector of Brandenburg and Maurice, that the Landgrave, after having made his submission, should be at liberty to return into his own territories, that, to allay the suspicions of the latter, they sent him a bond, containing the most solemn obligations, that if any violence was offered to his person during his interview with the Emperor, they would surrender themselves to his sons to be treated in the same manner as Charles should treat him.

Encouraged by this assurance, the Landgrave repaired to the Imperial camp at Hall in Saxony ; and submitted to the humiliating ceremony he had engaged to perform. But instead of being permitted to withdraw, he was committed to the custody of a Spanish guard. Astonished at so unworthy a fraud, he gave way to all the violence of rage, and charged the Elector and Maurice with having concurred in the dishonourable plan. They protested their innocence, and soothed him with the hope that as soon as they saw the Emperor they would

would obtain redress of the injury. But they had the mortification to find, that as Charles no longer stood in need of their services, he paid little regard to their intercession. He told them coldly, that he was ignorant of their private transactions with the Landgrave, though he well knew what he himself had promised, which was not that the Landgrave should be exempt from all restraint, but that he should not be kept a prisoner during life. Nor could all their intreaties prevail on him to depart from this resolution.

Having thus dispersed his enemies in the field, Charles directed his attention to assuage the religious dissensions in Germany. But he found the Pope no longer inclined to act in conjunction with him on this occasion. Paul had opened his eyes to the danger which impended over the papal see from the increasing grandeur of the Emperor; he had first removed the council of Trent to Bologna, and afterwards dissolved it; but Charles, elated with victory, was not deterred by his secession; he summoned a Diet at Augsburg, and having informed the members of the conduct of the Pope, he presented to them a system of doctrine which had been prepared by his orders, on which he bestowed the name of the *Interim*, and to which he expected all should conform.

A. D. 1548. The Interim was almost in every article conformable to the tenets of the Romish church;

church; yet as it was drawn up rather to allure than command the Protestants, it met with the real approbation of neither party. The reformed considered it as pregnant with the grossest errors of popery; the Papists inveighed against it as meanly concealing those doctrines which it should openly have enforced. Yet such was the dread of the Emperor's power, that it was received in the Diet with little opposition.

But if that assembly was silent, the Imperial cities freely avowed their detestation of the principles it contained; though Augsburg, Ulm, and Straßbourg had been constrained to yield obedience, Magdeburg, Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck still continued refractory. Their opposition, however, appeared to Charles too feeble to occasion any serious alarm; and in the fond hope that he had broken the stubborn spirits of the Germans, he set out for the Netherlands to meet his son Philip, whom he had sent for from Spain.

A. D. 1550. It was not only the motives of paternal affection that had influenced Charles to this interview with his son; his mind, intoxicated with success, was intent on schemes vast and chimerical; and no sooner was he relieved from a violent fit of the gout, which had detained him longer than he intended in the Netherlands, than, accompanied by Philip, he returned to Germany.

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The death of Paul, and the succession of Julius the Third to the Apostolic chair, promised to smooth the difficulties which the Emperor had hitherto encountered in his attempt to subject the principles of the Protestants; but it was not religion alone that engrossed his thoughts; his victory over the Smalkaldic league had rendered the Imperial power nearly despotic; and he cherished the hope that he might perpetuate it in his family, by transmitting to his son the German empire, together with the kingdoms of Spain, and his dominions in Italy and the Low Countries.

But the obstacles that opposed his plan were numerous. He had assisted in procuring the dignity of the King of the Romans for his brother Ferdinand, who not only refused to accede to a plan which would have degraded him from the highest rank among the monarchs of Europe, to that of a subordinate and dependent prince, but ever after viewed the conduct of Charles with jealousy.—The Emperor still flattered himself that he might attain the object, by prevailing on the electors to substitute Philip in succession to Ferdinand. But the Germans were disgusted with the reserve and haughty manners of the nephew, so distant from the affability of the uncle; they were awakened to the inconveniences of having placed at the head of the empire, a monarch whose power and dominions were so extensive; and so evident was their disapprobation

approbation of the measure, that Charles, notwithstanding the reluctance with which he gave up any point, was obliged to drop the scheme as impracticable, and to send back Philip to Spain.

Disappointed in this project, Charles resumed his former care of compelling all Germany to an uniformity in religion; for this purpose, he enforced with greater rigour the Interim, and used all his influence to persuade the Protestants to send deputies to the council which Julius had re-assembled at Trent; nor could he have failed of success, if Maurice of Saxony had not begun at this time to disclose new intentions, and to act a part very different from that which he had so long assumed.

Having raised himself to the electoral dignity; and having added the dominions of the elder branch of the Saxon family to his own, he was become the most powerful prince in Germany. He saw the yoke that was preparing for his country, and was convinced that but a few steps more remained to render Charles absolute. Notwithstanding the conduct he had observed, he was sincerely attached to the Lutheran tenets; and the more he had been exalted, the more did he dread the thoughts of descending from the rank of a prince, almost independent, to that of a vassal, subject to the commands of a master.

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He was therefore no sooner invested with the spoils of his degraded kinsman, than he resolved to secure them from the ambition of Charles, whose views he was well acquainted with, and more firmly to establish a religion, the exercise of which he had contributed to restrain.

A. D. 1551. In the execution of this enterprize, he formed and conducted an intricate plan of policy, which deceived the most artful prince in Europe; and while he professed himself the obsequious servant of Imperial power, he insinuated himself into the confidence, and attained an unqualified ascendancy over the minds of those whom he had lately afflicted with all the calamities of war. To gratify the Emperor, he prevailed on his own subjects to adopt the Interim, but he recovered the esteem of the Lutherans, by boldly protesting against the authority of the council of Trent, unless the divines of the reformed were admitted to a full hearing, and the Pope renounced his pretensions to preside in that assembly; yet the boldness of these demands seemed not to have awakened the jealousy of the Emperor; and when an army was assembled to enforce the submission of the citizens of Magdeburg to the Interim, Charles approved of the recommendation of the Diet, which pointed out Maurice as the most proper general.

In accepting the command, Maurice again revived the fears and clamours of the Protestants;

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but though he formed the siege of Magdeburg, he was far from pushing it with vigour. He held private conferences with Count Mansfield, who was governor of the town, and with Count Heideck, an officer who had served with great reputation in the league of Smalkalde; he availed himself of their influence; he gave them secret assurances that the fortifications of Magdeburg should not be destroyed, nor the inhabitants molested in the exercise of their religion; these conditions, on taking possession of the town, he punctually observed; and the citizens, in return, elected him their burgrave, a dignity which entitled him to ample jurisdiction, not only in Magdeburg, but in its dependencies.

During the interval of the siege, Maurice had silently extended his negotiations to Henry, who had succeeded to the throne of France; that monarch, who inherited his father's jealousy of the designs of the Emperor, readily concurred in defending the liberties of Germany; and not only furnished the confederates with a considerable sum of money; but promised, as soon as they should take up arms, he would attack Charles on the side of Lorraine.

Amidst all these intrigues, Maurice held a close correspondence with the Imperial court at Inspruck; and renewed on every occasion his professions not only of fidelity but of attachment to the Emperor; he talked continually of his intention of going to
Inspruck

Inspruck in person; he gave orders to hire a house for him in that city, and to be fitted up with the greatest dispatch.

Yet profoundly skilled as he was in the arts of deceit, some circumstances could not but excite the doubts of the Emperor and his ministers. The soldiers who had served under his standard, in the siege of Magdeburgh, had passed into the service of George of Mecklenburg, and lived at discretion on the lands of the rich ecclesiastics in Thuringia. They had been represented to Charles as a body of men kept in readiness for some desperate enterprise; yet whatever might be the disapprobation of the latter to their conduct, his incapacity to discharge their arrears, and disband them, obliged him to pass over in silence their irregularities.

The gout also at this time had returned on Charles with an increase of violence, and he was no longer able to attend to affairs with his usual vigilance and penetration; and Granvellé his prime minister, though one of the most subtle statesmen of the age, was on this occasion the dupe of his own craft; he had bribed two of Maurice's secretaries to give him minute information concerning their master's motions; but Maurice had fortunately discovered their treason, and turned his own arts against the Bishop. He affected to treat these traitors with greater confidence than ever; but he imparted to them only what he wished should be

known; and the accounts they transmitted were such as possessed Granvelle with a firm belief of his sincerity and good intentions.

A. D. 1552. At last his preparations were complete; and having dispatched a messenger to assure the Emperor that he would be at Inspruck in a few days, he joined the army in Thuringia, which amounted to twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, and put it immediately in motion.

At the same time, he published a manifesto, containing his reasons for taking up arms; these were, that he might secure the Protestant religion; that he might maintain the laws of the empire; and that he might deliver the Landgrave of Hesse from the miseries of a long and unjust imprisonment. He advanced by rapid marches towards the Upper Germany: all the towns opened their gates on his appearance; he restored the magistrates whom the Emperor had deposed; gave possession of the churches to the Protestant ministers whom he had ejected; and entered Augsburg amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants.

At the moment that Maurice unfurled the standard of civil and religious freedom, Henry, who assumed the extraordinary title of *protector of the liberties of Germany, and its captive princes*, deluged Lorrain with his forces, and planted the banners of France on the walls of Toul, Verdun, and Metz.

No words can express the Emperor's astonishment and consternation at events so unexpected.--- He saw a number of the German Princes in arms against him, united in league with a powerful monarch, who seconded their operations, at the head of a formidable army, while he, from negligence or credulity, was neither in a condition for crushing his rebellious subjects, or resisting the invasion of the foreign enemy. Part of his Spanish troops had been ordered into Hungary against the Turks; the rest had marched back to Italy; the bands of veteran Germans had been dismissed, or had entered into the service of Maurice; and he remained at Inspruck with a body of soldiers, hardly strong enough to guard his own person. His treasury was as much exhausted as his army was reduced; he had received no remittances for some time from the new world; and he had forfeited all credit with the merchants of Genoa and Venice. In this situation, he placed all his hopes on negotiation; to avoid making himself the first advances to his revolted subjects, he employed the mediation of his brother Ferdinand; and Maurice leaving his army to proceed under the Duke of Mecklenburg, readily consented to meet the King of the Romans at Lintz in Austria.

The conference at Lintz produced not any accommodation; but Maurice professed so strong an inclination to terminate the differences with the

Emperor in an amicable manner, that Ferdinand proposed a second interview at Passau, on the twenty-sixth of May, and that a truce should commence on that day, and continue to the tenth of June.

To this Maurice having acceded, rejoined his army, which had advanced to the neighbourhood of Ulm ; as sixteen days remained for action, before the commencement of the truce, he resolved on an enterprize, which, if successful, would entitle him to treat on his own terms. He doubted not, on the near prospect of a cessation of arms, that the Emperor would, in some measure, relapse into his former security; and relying on this conjecture, he, with the utmost rapidity, pressed forwards to Inspruck. Eight hundred Imperialists, who had been posted at Fieffu to defend the entrance of the Tyrolese, were broken by the vigour of his charge; by an unknown path he climbed, and possessed himself of the strong castle of Ehrenberg, situated on a high and steep precipice, which commanded the passage through mountains; but when he had forced his way within two days march of Inspruck, a battalion of mercenaries mutinied; and though they were at length appeased by the influence of Maurice, the delay proved fatal to the enterprize.

It was late in the evening, when the Emperor was informed of his approaching danger; and sen-

sible that nothing could save him but a speedy flight, he instantly left Inspruck, without regarding the darkness of the night, or the violence of the rain. Notwithstanding the debility occasioned by the gout which rendered him unable to bear any motion but that of a litter, he travelled by the light of torches, taking his way through the Alps by roads almost impassable. His courtiers followed, some on horseback, many on foot, and all in the utmost confusion. In this miserable plight, very unlike the pomp with which Charles had appeared during the five preceding years, as the conqueror of Germany, he at length arrived with his dejected train at Villach, in Carinthia, and scarcely thought himself secure even in that remote corner.

Before Charles left Inspruck, he had withdrawn the guards placed on the degraded Elector of Saxony, probably with the hope of embarrassing Maurice by a rival who might dispute his title to his dominions and dignity; but that prince abhorring the thoughts of falling into the hands of a kinsman, whom he justly considered as the author of all his misfortunes, chose rather to accompany the Emperor in his flight.

Maurice entered Inspruck a few hours after Charles and his attendants had left it; enraged that his prey had escaped him, he abandoned the royal baggage to be plundered by his soldiers; and as there now remained only three days to the com-

mencement of the truce, he set out for Passau to meet Ferdinand according to appointment.

Notwithstanding his rapid and brilliant success, Maurice was sensible that however slow the motions of Charles might be, he must at last act with vigour proportioned to the extent of his power and territories ; and he could scarcely hope that a confederacy composed of so many members, could operate with unanimity sufficient to resist an absolute prince, accustomed to command and conquer. If this filled him with apprehensions for the common cause, another circumstance gave him no less disquiet for his own particular interests.— By repealing the act which had deprived his kinsman of his hereditary honours and dominions, Charles would endanger all he had acquired, at the expence of so much dissimulation and artifice. Those combined considerations strongly influenced him to secure the advantages he had obtained by treaty, while the motives which prompted the Emperor to an accommodation, were not fewer nor less weighty. He was conscious of the superiority which the confederates had acquired through his own negligence ; and he now felt the insufficiency of his resources to oppose them. His Spanish subjects, disgusted at his long absence, and weary of endless wars, which were of little benefit to their country, refused to furnish him with any considerable supply either of men or money. His
treasury

treasury was drained ; his veteran forces were dispersed or disbanded. While the confederates found full employment for his arms in one quarter, he dreaded lest the King of France should seize the favourable opportunity, and push on his operations in another ; nor had he less reason to apprehend the hostile armaments of Solymán, who, roused by the solicitations of Henry, had already prepared a powerful fleet to ravage the defenceless coasts of Naples and Sicily.

Thus, though Charles and Maurice exerted at first all that finesse in negociation for which they were so eminently distinguished, they soon came to a more perfect understanding ; and under the mediation of the King of the Romans, the treaty of Passau, which established the Protestant church in Germany, was finally signed. The principal conditions were, that within twelve days, the confederates should lay down their arms, and disband their forces ; that on or before the expiration of that term, the Landgrave of Hesse should be set at liberty, and conveyed in safety to the castle of Rheinfels ; that a Diet should be held within six months, in order to deliberate concerning the most effectual method of preventing for the future all religious dissensions ; that in the mean time neither the Emperor, nor any other Prince, should offer any violence to the reformed ; that in return, the Protestants should not molest the Catholics in the

exercise of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or religious ceremonies; that the Imperial Chamber should administer justice impartially to persons of both parties, and Protestants should be admitted indiscriminately with the Catholics to sit as judges in that court. That if the next Diet should not be able to terminate the disputes with regard to religion, the stipulations in the present treaty, in behalf of the Protestants, should continue for ever in full force: that none of the confederates should be liable to any action on account of what had happened during the war; and that the consideration of those encroachments which had been made upon the constitution and liberties of the empire, should be remitted to the approaching Diet.

Chapter the Sixteenth.

Preparations against France—Siege of Metz—Gallant Defence of the Duke of Guise—The Imperialists are obliged to raise the siege—Mortification of Charles—Revolt of the Siennese—Death of Maurice of Saxony—The Emperor invades Picardy—Takes Terouenne and Hesdin—Negociates the Marriage of his son Philip with Mary Queen of England—The French ravage Hainault, Leige, and Artois—Charles marches to the Defence of Renti—Avoids a decisive Engagement—The French are compelled to retreat for want of subsistence—Charles lays waste Picardy—Recovers in Italy Sienna—Unsuccessful Attempt on Metz—Death of Pope Julius the Third—Is succeeded by Cardinal Caraffa—The Emperor proclaims his Resolution to retire from public Life—His obvious Motives—Resigns the Netherlands, Spain, &c. to his son Philip—Concludes a Truce with France for five Years—Relinquishes the Imperial Dignity to his Brother Ferdinand—Retires to Spain—Description of the Monastery of St. Justins, the place of his Retreat—Account of his Conduct in Retirement—His Death—His Character—Effects of his Administration on the Constitution of Castille.

A. D. 1552. **I**N the treaty of Passau, the German Princes, attentive alone to their own concerns,

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seemed

seemed scarcely to remember how much they were indebted for their success to Henry; his name was only mentioned in a short clause, which imported that he might communicate to the confederates his particular causes of hostility, and they would lay them before the Emperor; Henry experienced the same treatment which every prince who assists the authors of a civil war may naturally expect; and it was not long before he beheld himself singly exposed to the resentment and united strength of Charles.

The loss of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, had deeply impressed the mind of the Emperor; emerging from his inglorious retreat at Villach, he assembled at Augsbourg the forces of Germany, Italy, and Spain; to deceive the French, he pretended to direct his march towards Hungary, to check the progress of the infidels; but suddenly turning to the right, and being joined by Albert of Brandenburg, who availing himself of the public commotions, had ravaged with impartial rapacity the territories of both parties, at the head of eighty thousand men, he invested the city of Metz.

The King of France had early penetrated his intentions; he had provided, with alacrity and vigour for the defence of his late acquisitions; and had nominated to the command of Metz, Francis, Duke of Guise. That nobleman possessed in an eminent degree all the talents of courage, sagacity, and

and presence of mind, which fitted him for so important a trust, Ambitious of fame, by splendid and daring achievements, he hastened with joy to the dangerous station that was assigned him. He diligently repaired the old fortifications, and skilfully erected new ones. He destroyed the suburbs that might favour the approaches of the enemy; and he wasted for several miles round the country whence they hoped to draw their subsistence.

Neither these precautions, the remonstrances of his generals the Duke of Alva, and the Marquis of Marignano, nor the advanced state of the season, which already drew near to the end of October, could change the inflexible resolution of Charles; though in a sally from the town, his vanguard had been routed, he still persevered with his wonted obstinacy in his design; the trenches were opened, and the siege pushed on with vigour; but after the labour of three weeks, the besiegers beheld, with astonishment, new works appear, in the demolishing of which their fatigues and dangers would be renewed. Enraged at the little progress they had made, the Emperor left Thionville, where he had been confined by a violent fit of the gout, and though still so infirm that he was obliged to be carried in a litter, he repaired to the camp, that by his presence he might animate the soldiers, and urge on the attack with greater spirit.

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He came only to increase the triumph of his enemies; his efforts and ardour were opposed by the inclemency of the season. The winter set in with unusual rigour; in little more than a month from the commencement of the siege, the camp of the Imperialists was alternately deluged with rain, or covered with snow; the Spaniards and Italians, accustomed to more genial climates, sunk the victims of cold and disease; the troops throughout, torpid and dispirited, were no longer to be roused by the voice of their leaders. When commanded to advance to the breach, they stood motionless in dejected silence; and the indignant Emperor retired to his tent, complaining that he was deserted by his soldiers, who no longer deserved the name of men. Yet deeply mortified as he was at the behaviour of his army, he would not hear of abandoning the siege; he changed the manner of attack, suspended the fury of his batteries, and proceeded by the more tedious method of sapping.—But as it still continued to rain and snow almost incessantly, such as were employed in this service endured incredible hardships; and the Duke of Guise, whose industry was not inferior to his valour, discovered all the mines, and prevented their effect. At last Charles finding it impossible to contend any longer with the severity of the season, and enemies equally prepared against force or art, and having beheld great part of his soldiers and officers

officers daily perish by a pestilential disease, that raged through the camp, yielded to the solicitations of his generals, and gave the signal for retreat. As he reluctantly issued the orders, "fortune," exclaimed he, "I now perceive resembles other females, and chooseth to confer her favours on young men, while she forsakes those who are advanced in years."

The reverse he had experienced, might well inspire the mortifying reflection; his army was reduced to less than half its original number, when necessity compelled him to begin his retreat towards Germany. Shame and terror hung upon his rear; and his fainting steps were traced by the sick, the wounded, and the dead. In all the different roads by which the army retired, numbers were found, who, having made an effort to escape beyond their strength, were left, when they could go no further, to the mercy of their adversaries. That mercy they found from the Duke of Guise, whose enmity was vanquished by the scene of misery, and who scorned to trample on a foe, no longer capable of resistance. His care and liberality were exerted to heal the wounded, and to restore the famished; as soon as they recovered, he sent them home, under an escort of soldiers, and with money to bear their charges; and the courage which he had displayed in the siege, was exceeded

ceeded by the humanity which he exercised in the pursuit.

The misfortunes of Charles were not confined to Germany. In Italy, the Siennese threw off the Imperial yoke, and placed themselves under the protection of the French; while Solymán, the powerful, but dishonourable, ally of the Christian King, filled the Mediterranean with his fleets; struck terror through the city of Naples; and had the operations of the Ottomans been seconded by the armaments of Henry, that city must once more have acknowledged the dominion of a foreign master.

A. D. 1553. In the Netherlands, Charles indulged those gloomy sensations which disappointed ambition inspires; yet if vengeance was dear to him, he might feel some satisfaction at the premature and violent death of Maurice of Saxony. The ravages of Albert of Brandenburg, after the siege of Metz, had compelled the Princes of Germany to form a league, of which Maurice was declared chief. At Sieverhausen, in the Dutchy of Luxemburg, at the head of twenty-four thousand men, he encountered his adversary with equal force. The conflict was long and bloody; and it was not until after repeated efforts, that victory declared for Maurice; but as he himself led up to a second charge a body of horse, which had been
broken,

broken, he received a wound from a pistol-bullet, of which he died two days after the battle.

His death made no alteration in the situation of the Protestants; all the great schemes which had engrossed Charles so long concerning Germany, had been disconcerted by the peace of Passau; the affairs of the empire became only secondary objects of attention; and enmity to France was the predominant passion which occupied his mind. To gratify this, and to efface the stain which the repulse at Metz had fixed on his arms, he laid siege to Terouenne; and pushed his attacks with such vigour and perseverance, that the place was taken by assault. The Imperial army, under the command of Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, who already began to display those talents by which he was afterwards so eminently distinguished, next invested Hesdin; and its walls, though defended with bravery, could not long resist the ardour of the assailants.

The loss of these cities was severely felt by Henry, who in person with a numerous army, had advanced to check the progress of Philibert; the approach of such an adversary roused Charles from the couch of sickness; he quitted Bruffells, where he had been confined above seven months by the gout, and though he could hardly bear the motion of a litter, he hastened to join his forces. The eyes of all Europe were turned with expectation
on

on those mighty and exasperated rivals, between whom a decisive battle was now thought unavoidable; but Charles having prudently declined to hazard a general engagement, and the violence of the autumnal rains rendering it impossible to undertake any siege, the French retired, without having performed any thing suitable to their vast preparations.

A. D. 1553. The death of Edward the Sixth of
1554. England, afforded Charles a new theatre to display his ambition on. His son Philip was become a widower; and by the marriage of that prince with Mary, who inherited Edward's crown, he hoped to add England to his other dominions. Had his son declined the intended match, so strong was the desire of acquisition, that Charles was determined to have proposed himself; but Philip, though only in his twenty-seventh year, readily consented to espouse a princess older than himself by eleven years, and destitute of every charm either of person or manners that could win affection, or command esteem. Mary herself met the proposal with so much ardour as overwhelmed the reluctance of her subjects. By the articles of marriage it was, however, agreed, that though Philip should bear the title of King, the entire administration of affairs, as well as the sole disposal of all revenues, offices, and benefices, should remain with the Queen; that their issue
should,

should, together with the Crown of England, inherit the Dutchy of Burgundy, and the Low Countries; that if Prince Charles, Philip's only son by his former marriage, should die without offspring, his children by the Queen, whether male or female, should succeed to the crown of Spain, and all the Emperor's hereditary dominions; that before the consummation of the marriage, Philip should swear solemnly, that he would retain no domestic who was not a subject of the Queen, and would bring no foreigners into the kingdom that might give umbrage to the English; that he would make no alteration in the constitution or laws of England; that he would not carry the Queen, or any of the children born of this marriage, out of the kingdom; that if the Queen should die before him without issue, he would immediately leave the crown to the lawful heir, without claiming any right of administration; and that in consequence of this marriage, England should not be engaged in any war subsisting between France and Spain; but that the alliance between France and England should remain in full force; to all these conditions Charles and his son subscribed, and Philip sailing from Corrunna with a magnificent train, landed in England, and received the hand of Mary.

A. D. 1554. This accession to the power and influence of the house of Austria, served to increase the

the jealousy of, without intimidating the French King. He determined to carry on his military operations, both in the Low Countries and Italy, with extraordinary vigour, in order that he might compel Charles to accept of an equitable peace, before his daughter-in-law could surmount the aversion of her subjects to a war on the continent; with three great armies, he ravaged Hainault, Liege, and Artois; reduced Marienburg, took Bouvines and Dinant by assault, and invested Renti. The Emperor, though broken by years, by fatigue, and indisposition, marched to the relief of that place. He was, however, desirous of avoiding a decisive action; but a post, which both armies endeavoured to occupy, brought on an engagement, which proved almost general. The Duke of Guise, who commanded the wing of the French which sustained the attack of the enemy, displayed valour and conduct worthy the defender of Metz. The Imperialists, after an obstinate struggle, were repulsed; and if the constable, either from his natural caution, or from reluctance to support a rival whom he hated, had not delayed bringing up the main body to second the impression which had already been made, the rout must have been complete; his slowness or envy allowed Charles to regain in safety his camp; the French themselves were soon after obliged to retire, for want of provisions; and the Emperor, on their retreat, entering Picardy, extended

tended his devastations over that province; and revenged the ravages committed in Hainault and Artois.

Fortune seemed to smile upon him once more. In Italy, his general, the Marquis of Marignano, defeated, with the loss of four thousand men, Strozzi, a Florentine exile, who was supported by Henry. The siege of Sienna was instantly formed by the victor; the fate of that city was protracted for some months by the valour of Monluc, who commanded the French; famine at length compelled the Sienese to submit; the terms they obtained were however honourable; and Monluc, with his troops, was allowed to march out with all the honours of war. But in Piedmont, the Duke of Alva, who had boasted, with his wonted arrogance, that he would soon drive the French beyond the mountains, was baffled by the skill of the marshal Brissac; that officer, with troops inferior in number to the Imperialists, not only maintained his ground, but even extended his incursions into that part of the country which had hitherto acknowledged the dominion of the Duke of Savoy.

A. D. 1555. It was not only on arms that Charles depended; the loss of Metz was still impressed on his mind; and to recover it, he had entered into an intrigue with Leonard, Father Guardian of a convent of Franciscans in that city; that monk, who had insinuated himself into the esteem and favour

of the Duke of Guise, and possessed the confidence of Veilleville, his successor in the government, was tempted by his restless ambition, to form a design for betraying the town to the Imperialists; as he was permitted to converse or correspond with whatever persons he thought fit, he doubted not that he should accomplish his scheme with perfect security. He communicated his intention to the Queen-Dowager of Hungary, who governed the Low Countries in the name of her brother; she approved, and Charles confirmed the approbation of an act of treachery, from which he expected to derive such signal advantage; it was agreed that the Father Guardian should gain his monks to concur in the design; that he should introduce into the convent a certain number of chosen soldiers, disguised in the habit of friars; that the Governor of Thionville should advance, under cover of the night, and attempt to scale the ramparts, and while the garrison should be employed in repelling the attacks, the monks should set fire to the town in several places; the soldiers, who lay concealed, should issue out of the convent, and attack the French in the rear; nor was it doubted that amidst the general terror and confusion that the Imperialists would become masters of the city. As a recompense for this service, the Father Guardian stipulated that he should be appointed Bishop of Metz, and ample rewards were promised to such of his monks

monks as should be most active in promoting the enterprise.

But on the very day that was fixed for the execution of the plan, the suspicions of Villeville were awakened by the military preparations of the Governor of Thionville, and the frequent resort of the Franciscan friars to that city. He visited the convent, discovered the soldiers, and seized the Father Guardian; apprised of the extent of the scheme, he laid in ambush for the troops that were to march from Thionville; attacked them, unprepared for resistance; and led the greatest part of them in triumph prisoners to Metz.

The disappointment which Charles endured on this occasion was soon augmented by another; Pope Julius the Third expired, and Cardinal Caraffa, the inveterate enemy of the house of Austria, was raised to the papal dignity; but from these events the eyes of Europe were soon turned to one more signal and important; and the attention of mankind was engrossed by the determination of Charles to retire from the cares of public life.

Various conjectures have been entertained concerning the motives which could induce a prince, whose ruling passion had been uniformly the love of sway, at the age of fifty-six, when objects of ambition continue to operate with full force on the mind, and are pursued with the greatest ardour, to take a resolution so singular and unex-

pected; a rumour of later times has attributed it to the stubborn and aspiring temper of Philip, impatient of controul, and eager for power; but more simple and obvious causes will sufficiently account for the Emperor's conduct. He had been attacked early in life by the gout, and notwithstanding all the precautions of the most skilful physicians, the violence of the distemper increased as he advanced in age, and the fits became every year more frequent, as well as more severe. Not only the vigour of his constitution was broken, but the faculties of his mind were impaired by the excruciating torments which he endured. Under these circumstances, the government alone of so many kingdoms was a burden more than sufficient; but to push forward and complete the vast schemes, which the ambition of his more active years had formed, or to keep in view and carry on the same great system of policy, extending to every nation in Europe, and connected with the operations of every different court, were functions which so far exceeded his strength, that they oppressed and overwhelmed it; long accustomed to inspect himself every department, it was with reluctance he committed the conduct of affairs to his ministers. He imputed every misfortune which befel him, and every miscarriage that happened, to his inability to execute his resolutions in person; he complained of his hard fortune in being opposed in his declining

declining years to a rival in the full vigour of life; and he prudently determined not to forfeit the fame of his better days, by struggling with a vain obstinacy to retain the reins of government, when he was no longer able to hold them with steadiness, or to guide them with address.

But though Charles had revolved this scheme for several years, and had communicated it to his sisters the Dowager Queens of France and Hungary, who not only approved of his intention, but offered to accompany him in his retreat, yet several things had hitherto prevented his carrying it into execution. He could not think of loading his son with the government of so many kingdoms, until he should attain such maturity of age, as would enable him to sustain that burden. His mother's situation had been another obstacle; during near forty years of confinement and incapacity, the administration of Spain had still been carried on jointly, in the name of Joanna and Charles; and such was the fond attachment of the Spaniards to the former, that they would probably have scrupled to recognise Philip as their sovereign, unless she had consented to receive him as her partner in the throne. Her death this year removed the difficulty; while the inclination and talents of Philip for business assured Charles that he might confide in the abilities and diligence of his son. The war with France still occasioned some delay; the

Emperor was solicitous to have delivered up his kingdoms in peace; and a negociation for that purpose had been set on foot, in the name of the Queen of England, and under the mediation of Cardinal Pole. But as Henry had discovered no disposition to close with his overtures, and had ever shown an aversion to his proposals, the Emperor resolved no longer to postpone his purpose, in expectation of an event which was as uncertain as it was desirable.

Having recalled Philip from England, Charles prepared to perform this last act of sovereignty with a solemnity suitable to the importance of the transaction. He assembled the states of the Low Countries at Brussels, and on the twenty-fifth of October, he seated himself, for the last time, in the chair of state, on one side of which was placed his son, and on the other his sister the Queen of Hungary, regent of the Netherlands, with a splendid retinue of the princes of the empire and the grandees of Spain standing behind him. The president of the council of Flanders, by his command, explained in a few words his intention in calling this extraordinary meeting of the states; he then read the instrument of resignation, by which Charles surrendered to Philip all his territories in the Low Countries, and he required his subjects to serve his son with the same loyalty and zeal which they had manifested

feisted during so long a course of years in support of his government.

Charles then rose from his seat, and leaning on the shoulder of the Prince of Orange, because he was unable to stand without support, he addressed himself to the audience, and recounted, without ostentation, all the great things which he had undertaken, and performed since the commencement of his administration. He observed, that from the seventeenth year of his age, he had dedicated all his thoughts and attention to publick objects, reserving no portion of his time for the indulgence of ease, and very little for the enjoyment of private pleasure. That either in a pacific or hostile manner he had visited Germany nine times, Spain six times, France four times, Italy seven times, the Low Countries ten times, England twice, Africa as often, and had made eleven voyages by sea.— That while his health permitted him to discharge his duty, he had never shunned labour, nor repined under fatigue. But now that his vigour was exhausted, his growing infirmities admonished him to retire; nor was he so fond of reigning as to retain the sceptre in an impotent hand, which was no longer able to protect his subjects, or to render them happy. That instead of a sovereign worn out with diseases, he gave them one in the prime of life, and already accustomed to govern; he added, that if, during the course of a long administration,

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nistration, he had committed any material error, or amidst the pressure of many and great affairs, he had neglected or injured any of his subjects, he now implored their forgiveness. For his part, he should ever retain a grateful sense of their fidelity and attachment, and should carry the remembrance of it to the place of his retreat as his sweetest consolation.

Then turning towards Philip, he exhorted him to consider the welfare of his people, as the most acceptable testimony of his gratitude for the inheritance that had been that day resigned him. “ It is in your power,” said he, “ by a wise and virtuous administration, to justify the extraordinary proof which I have given of my paternal affection, and to demonstrate that you are worthy of the confidence that I repose in you. Preserve an inviolable regard for religion; maintain the Catholic faith in its purity; let the laws of your country be sacred in your eyes; encroach not on the rights and privileges of your people; and if the time shall ever come when you shall wish to enjoy the tranquillity of private life, may you have a son endowed with such qualities that you can resign your sceptre to him, with as much satisfaction as I give up mine to you.”

Exhausted with this long address to his subjects and their new sovereign, Charles sunk into his chair; nor could the audience during his discourse refrain
from

from tears; some from admiration of his magnanimity, others softened by the expressions of tenderness towards his son, and of love to his people; and all were affected with the deepest sorrow at losing a prince, who, during his administration, had distinguished the Netherlands, his native country, with particular marks of regard.

A. D. 1556. A few weeks after, in an assembly no less splendid, Charles resigned to his son the crowns of Spain, and all the territories depending on them, both in the old and in the new world.—Of all these vast possessions, he reserved nothing for himself but an annual pension of an hundred thousand crowns, to defray the charges of his family, and to afford him a small sum for acts of beneficence and charity.

He would immediately have embarked for the retreat he had fixed on in Spain, but his physicians remonstrated strongly against his venturing to sea at that cold and boisterous season of the year; and by yielding to their intreaties he had the satisfaction of taking a considerable step towards that peace which he so ardently desired; the commissioners that had been appointed by him and the French King to treat of an exchange of prisoners, in their conferences, accidentally proposed terminating the hostilities between the contending monarchs by a long truce, during the continuance of which each was to retain what was in his immediate possession.

Charles,

Charles, sensible how much his kingdoms had suffered from the expensive and almost continual wars in which his ambition had engaged him, and eager to gain for his son a short interval of peace, that he might firmly establish his authority, embraced with ardour the proposal, though manifestly dishonourable as well as disadvantageous; Philip presumed not to oppose his judgement to his father's; and Henry, though he had entered into the strictest engagements with the new Pope to pursue the war against the house of Austria with increase of vigour, could not withstand the temptation of a treaty which left him in quiet possession of the greater part of the dominions of the Duke of Savoy, together with the important conquests he had made on the German frontier. But that he might not seem totally to abandon his ally, he took care that Paul should be expressly included in the truce, which, on the terms that had been proposed, he authorised his ambassadors to sign for five years.

This last negotiation closed the public life of Charles; he had retained the Imperial dignity some time after he had resigned his hereditary dominions, in the vain hope that he might persuade his brother to quit it in favour of Philip; but the answer of Ferdinand left him nothing to expect; and Charles, ashamed of his own credulity, in having imagined that he might now accomplish what he had formerly attempted without success, desisted finally

finally from his scheme, and transferred, by a formal deed, all his claims of obedience and allegiance from the Germanic body, to the King of the Romans.

Disencumbered of every dignity, nothing now remained to detain him from that retreat for which he languished. In his way to Zuitburg in Zealand, where he proposed to embark, he stopped a few days at Ghent, to indulge that pleasing melancholy which arises to the mind of every man in the decline of life on visiting the place of his nativity, and viewing the scenes and objects familiar to him in his early youth. At Zuitburg he took leave of Philip, with all the tenderness of a father, who embraced his son for the last time; and sailed under convoy of a large fleet of Spanish, Flemish, and English ships. He declined the invitation of Mary to land in some part of her dominions, observing, that it could not be agreeable to a Queen to receive a visit from a father-in-law, who was now nothing more than a private gentleman. After a prosperous voyage, he arrived at Laredo in Biscay; as soon as he landed, he fell prostrate on the ground, and kissing the earth, "naked," said he, "I came
" out of my mother's womb, and naked I now re-
" turn to thee, thou common mother of mankind." From Laredo he pursued his journey to Burgos, where he was met by some of the Spanish nobility; but they were so few in number, that Charles ob-
served

observed it, and felt, for the first time, that he was no longer a monarch. He now discovered that he had been indebted to his rank and power for that obsequious regard which he had fondly thought was paid to his personal qualities. But though he could despise the levity of his subjects, he was deeply afflicted by the ingratitude of his son, who suffered him to remain some weeks at Burgos before he paid him the first moiety of that small pension which was all that he had reserved of so many kingdoms; and as without this sum Charles could not dismiss his domestics, with such rewards as their services merited, or his generosity had destined them, he could not help expressing both surprise, and dissatisfaction.

At last the money was remitted; and Charles having parted with those of his household, whose attendance he thought would be superfluous or cumbersome in his retirement, proceeded to Valladolid, and continued his journey to Plazencia in Estramadura. He had passed through that place a great many years before, and being struck with the delightful situation of the monastery of St. Justins, belonging to the order of St. Jerome, not many miles distant from the town, he had then observed to some of his attendants, that to such a spot Dioclesian might have retired with pleasure. The impression had remained so strong on his mind, that he pitched upon it as the place of his own retreat,

treat. It was situated in a vale of no great extent, watered by a small brook, and surrounded by rising grounds, covered with lofty trees. From the nature of the soil, as well as the temperature of the climate, it was esteemed the most healthful and delicious situation in Spain. Some months before his resignation, he had sent an architect to add a new apartment to the monastery for his accommodation. It consisted only of six rooms, four of them in the form of friar's cells, with naked walls; the other two, each twenty feet square, were hung with brown cloth, and furnished in the most simple manner. They were all on a level with the ground, with a door on one side into a garden, of which Charles himself had given the plan, and had filled it with various plants, which he intended to cultivate with his own hands; on the other side, they communicated with the chapel of the monastery, in which he was to perform his devotions. Into this humble retreat; hardly sufficient for the accommodation of a private gentleman, did Charles enter with twelve domestics only. He buried there, in solitude and silence, his grandeur, his ambition, together with all those vast projects which, during almost half a century, had alarmed and agitated Europe, filling every kingdom in it by turns, with the terror of his arms, and the dread of being subdued by his power.

Perhaps

A. D. 1556. Perhaps it will not be unacceptable
1558. to the reader, if, abandoning the
chronological order we have hitherto observed,
we pursue to his retirement the sequestered prince,
and anticipate his last moments, as described by
the eloquent historian of his reign. When Charles
entered the monastery of St. Justins, he formed
such a plan of life for himself, as would have suited
the condition of a private gentleman of moderate
fortune. His table was neat, but plain; his do-
mestics few; his intercourse with them familiar; all
the cumbersome and ceremonious forms of attend-
ance on his person were entirely abolished, as de-
structive of that social ease and tranquillity which he
courted, in order to soothe the remainder of his
days. As the mildness of the climate, together
with his deliverance from the burdens and cares of
government, procured him at first a considerable
remission from the acute pains with which he had
been long tormented, he enjoyed, perhaps, more
complete satisfaction in this humble solitude, than
all his grandeur had ever yielded him. Far from tak-
ing any part in the political transactions of the
Princes of Europe, he restrained his curiosity,
even from any enquiry concerning them; and he
seemed to view the busy scene which he had aban-
doned with all the contempt and indifference aris-
ing from his thorough experience of its vanity, as
well

well as from the pleasing reflection of having dis-entangled himself from its cares.

Other amusements, and other objects, now occupied him. Sometimes he cultivated the plants in his garden with his own hands; sometimes he rode out to the neighbouring wood on a little horse, the only one that he kept, attended by a single servant on foot. When his infirmities confined him to his apartment, which often happened, and deprived him of these more active recreations, he either admitted a few gentlemen, who resided near the monastery, to visit him, and entertained them familiarly at his table; or he employed himself in studying mechanical principles and in forming curious works of mechanism, of which he had always been remarkably fond, and to which his genius was peculiarly turned. With this view he had engaged Turriano, one of the most ingenious artists of that age, to accompany him in his retreat. He laboured together with him in framing models of the most useful machines, as well as in making experiments with regard to their respective powers, and it was not seldom that the ideas of the monarch assisted or perfected the inventions of the artist. He relieved his mind, at intervals, with slighter and more fantastic works of mechanism, in fashioning puppets, which, by the structure of internal springs, mimicked the gestures and actions of men, to the astonishment of

of

of the ignorant Monks, who beholding movements which they could not comprehend, sometimes distrusted their own senses, and sometimes suspected Charles and Turriano of being in compact with invisible powers. He was particularly curious with regard to the construction of clocks and watches; and having found, after repeated trials, that he could not bring any two of them to go exactly alike, he reflected, it is said, with a mixture of surprise as well as regret, on his own folly, in having bestowed so much time and labour on the more vain attempt of bringing mankind to a precise uniformity of sentiment concerning the profound and mysterious doctrines of religion.

But in what manner soever Charles disposed of the rest of his time, he constantly reserved a considerable portion of it for religious exercises. He regularly attended divine service in the chapel of the monastery, every morning and evening; he took great pleasure in reading books of devotion, particularly the works of St. Augustine and St. Bernard; and conversed much with his confessor, and the prior of the monastery, on pious subjects. Thus did Charles pass the first year of his retreat, in a manner not unbecoming a man perfectly disengaged from the affairs of the present life, and standing on the confines of a future world; either in innocent amusements, which soothed his
pains,

pains, and relieved a mind worn out with excessive application to business; or in devout occupations, which he deemed necessary in preparing for another state.

But about six months before his death, the gout, after a longer intermission than usual, returned with a proportional increase of violence. His shattered constitution had not vigour enough remaining to withstand such a shock. It enfeebled his mind as much as his body, and from this period we hardly discern any traces of that sound and masculine understanding, which distinguished Charles among his contemporaries. An illiberal and timid superstition depressed his spirit. He had no relish for amusements of any kind. He endeavoured to conform, in his manner of living, to all the rigour of monastic austerities. He desired no other society than that of Monks, and was almost continually employed with them in chanting the hymns of the Missal. As an expiation for his sins, he gave himself the discipline in secret with such severity, that the whip of cords which he employed as the instrument of his punishment, was found after his decease tinged with his blood. Nor was he satisfied with these acts of mortification, which, however severe, were not unexampled. The timorous and distrustful solicitude which always accompanies superstition, still continued to disquiet him, and depreciating all the devout exercises in which

he had hitherto been engaged, prompted him to aim at something extraordinary, at some new and singular act of piety that would display his zeal, and merit the favour of heaven. The act on which he fixed was as wild and uncommon as any that superstition ever suggested to a weak and disordered fancy. He resolved to celebrate his own obsequies before his death. He ordered his tomb to be erected in the chapel of the monastery. His domestics marched thither in funeral procession, with black tapers in their hands. He himself followed in his shroud. He was laid in his coffin with much solemnity. The service for the dead was chanted, and Charles joined in the prayers which were offered up for the rest of his soul, mingling his tears with those which his attendants shed, as if they had been celebrating a real funeral. The ceremony closed with sprinkling holy water on the coffin in the usual form, and all the assistants retiring, the doors of the chapel were shut. Then Charles rose out of the coffin, and withdrew to his apartment, full of those awful sentiments which such a singular solemnity was calculated to inspire. But either the fatiguing length of the ceremony, or the impression which this image of death left on his mind, affected him so much, that next day he was seized with a fever. His feeble frame could not long resist its violence, and he expired on the twenty-first

of September, after a life of fifty-eight years, six months, and twenty-five days.

Such was the end of Charles the Fifth, a prince whose character is not to be drawn from the exaggerated praises of the Spanish, and the jealous censures of the French historians. Born with talents, which unfolded themselves slowly, and were late in attaining to maturity, he was accustomed to revolve every subject with careful and deliberate attention; to dwell upon it with a serious application, undiverted by pleasure, and hardly relaxed by amusement. But his promptitude in execution was not less remarkable than his patience in deliberation; nor did he discover greater sagacity in his choice of the measures which it was proper to pursue, than fertility of genius in creating resources to render them successful. Though during the most ardent season of life, he confined himself to the cabinet, yet when he appeared at the head of his armies, he displayed such military talents, as entitled him to rank with the most celebrated generals of the age; and he possessed, in the most eminent degree, the science which is of greatest importance to a monarch, of discovering and availing himself of the abilities of mankind. If destitute of that bewitching affability of manners, which gained his rival Francis the hearts of all who approached him, he was no stranger to the virtues which secure fidelity and attachment. He placed unbounded confi-

dence in his generals; he rewarded their services with munificence; he neither envied their fame, nor was jealous of their power. But these qualities were shaded by an unbounded ambition which exhausted and oppressed his people, and by an insidious and fraudulent policy, which was rendered more odious by the open and undesigning dispositions of his contemporaries Francis the First and Henry the Eighth.

If the reign of Charles was favourable to the grandeur, it was fatal to the liberty of Spain; by his success in the war against the Junta, he exalted the regal prerogative upon the ruins of the privileges of the people. Though he tolerated the name and the forms of the Cortes, he reduced its authority and jurisdiction almost to nothing; and modelled it in such a manner, that it rather appeared a meeting of the servants of the Crown, than an assembly of the representatives of the people. The suppression of the popular power rendered the aristocratical less formidable. The grandees, prompted by the warlike spirit of the age, or allured by the honour which they enjoyed in a court, exhausted their fortunes in military service, or in attending on the person of their prince; while permitted to retain the vain distinction of being covered in the presence of their sovereign, they observed not, or were indifferent to, the dangerous progress of the royal authority; the will of the monarch

narch soon became the supreme law throughout Castille; and her degenerate sons, accustomed to subjection themselves, assisted in imposing the yoke on their more happy and independent neighbours.

Chapter the Seventeenth.

Accession of Philip—Extent and Resources of his Dominions—His Character—Character and Conduct of Paul the Fourth—His Negotiations with France—Prevails on Henry to violate the Truce of Vaucelles—Reluctance of Philip to engage in a War against the Holy See—Duke of Alva approaches Rome—Paul solicits a Truce—The Duke of Guise marches into Italy—Prudent and successful Conduct of Alva—Philip attacks France on the Side of Picardy, in Conjunction with the English—Siege and Battle of St. Quentin—Gallant Defence of Coligny—Duke of Guise is recalled from Italy—Suddenly attacks and takes Calais—Battle of Gravelines—Negotiations for Peace—They are suspended by the Death of Mary Queen of England, and the Accession of Elizabeth—They are terminated at Cateau-Cambresis—Articles of the Treaty.

A. D. 1555. **T**HOUGH Charles was disappointed in the plan he had fondly cherished of transmitting the Imperial sceptre to his son, yet Philip, on the abdication of his father, might justly be esteemed the most powerful monarch of the age. The jealousy of the English had vigilantly excluded him from participating the regal power of his consort ;
but

but the affection of Mary gave him no inconsiderable share in the administration of that country. He possessed the united kingdoms of Castille, Arragon, and Navarre; the crowns of Naples, and Sicily; the Dutchy of Milan, Franche Comté, and the Netherlands; his authority was acknowledged in Tunis and Oran; in the Cape-verd, and the Canary islands; but however his dominions had been extended in Europe and Africa, these acquisitions equalled not the conquests which his predecessor had made in the new world; there, empires, instead of provinces, had been added to the Spanish crown; inexhaustible veins of wealth had been discovered; the rich produce of the mines of Mexico, Chili, and Potosi, were poured into the bosom of the Guadalquivir; and the Spaniard might well exclaim, in the fulness of his exultation; *he who has not seen Seville, has not seen the wonder of the world.* A veteran army, renowned for the stability of its discipline, and commanded by officers long accustomed to war and victory; a fleet more numerous than that of any other European power; and a council composed of statesmen, practised in all the intrigues of court, and grown grey in the affairs of state, seemed to promise to Spain an age of splendid prosperity.

The character of the prince on whom these vast possessions had devolved, seemed to justify the expectations of the Spaniards; that pride and reserve
which

which disgusted his other subjects, served only to increase the admiration of the Castilians, who beheld with pleasure their own national features reflected in the disposition of their sovereign. The bigoted attachment of Philip to the see of Rome, which had been early instilled into him by the ecclesiastics to whom his education had been intrusted, was observed with satisfaction by a people who cherished the establishment of the inquisition. And if prejudice combined to give a lustre to the faulty part of his character, the more dispassionate and impartial judgement of mankind allowed him to be indefatigable and laborious in business; undaunted in adversity, and apparently temperate in prosperity.

The truce of Vauelles was so advantageous to France, that Philip could not readily persuade himself that Henry would violate it; he had not, however, on his accession, found his dominions in perfect tranquillity. Paul the Fourth, who had succeeded Julius, in the Apostolic chair, had been elected in opposition to the influence of the Imperial faction. His principal recommendation had been his advanced age, which flattered the conclave with the hopes of a speedy vacancy; and the austerity of his life, which had impressed the Italians with an high idea of the sanctity of his manners. Soon after he had entered into orders, he had resigned several rich benefices which had been
conferred

conferred upon him, and having instituted a society of regular priests, under the name of Theatines, he had entered among them, conformed to all the rigorous rules of the fraternity ; and had preferred the solitude of a monastic life to the great objects which the court of Rome presented to his ambition. He had, however, been compelled, by the authority of Paul the Third, to quit his retreat ; to accept of a Cardinal's hat ; and by the profound skill that he had acquired in scholastic theology, to assist in the measures which the latter meditated for the suppression of heresy. But in the purple, he still retained the austere and simple manners of his former life ; he was an avowed and bitter enemy of all innovation in opinion, of every irregularity in practice, and of those measures which seemed to flow from motives of policy and interest, rather than from zeal for the honour of the ecclesiastical order. Under such a prelate, the Roman courtiers expected a severe and violent pontificate, during which the principles of sound policy would be sacrificed to the narrow prejudices of priestly zeal ; these apprehensions Paul was extremely solicitous to remove ; on his entrance into administration, when the master of his household inquired in what manner he would chuse to live, he haughtily replied, “ like a great prince ;” he indulged himself in numerous acts of liberality and magnificence ; he called his nephews to court, promoted

the eldest to be governor of Rome: bestowed on the youngest, who had served as a soldier of fortune, the dignity of Cardinal; and listening to his personal resentment or ambitious hope of distinguishing his pontificate by some splendid political revolution, he entered into a treaty with Henry, in which they agreed to attack the dutchy of Tuscany and the kingdom of Naples with their united forces; to re-establish in the former the ancient form of republican government, and to grant the latter to one of the sons of the King of France, after reserving a certain territory which was to be annexed to the patrimony of the church, together with an independent and princely establishment for each of the Pope's nephews.

A. D. 1556. But while Paul flattered himself that this alliance would immortalize his administration, and erect on a solid foundation the grandeur of his house, he received, with mingled terror and astonishment, the intelligence of the truce of Vaucelles. He beheld himself deserted by the ally on whom he depended, and exposed to the resentment of an adversary whom he dreaded. But instead of relinquishing his design, he had recourse to the arts of negociation and intrigue, of which the papal court knows well how to avail itself. He affected to approve highly of the truce as an happy expedient for putting a stop to the effusion of Christian blood. He offered himself as the common mediator

mediator between the rival princes; with this pretext he appointed Cardinal Rebiba his Nuncio to the court Brussels, and his nephew Cardinal Caraffa to that of Paris; the public instructions to both were to promote a permanent peace; but under this appearance Paul concealed very different intentions; and Caraffa received a commission to solicit the French King to abandon his pacific plan, and to renew his engagements with the Holy See.

Caraffa accordingly hastened to Paris, and having presented to Henry a consecrated sword, as the protector on whose aid the Pope relied in the present exigency, he besought him not to disregard the entreaties of a parent in distress, who had confided in his faith. He affirmed that now was the time, when, with the most certain prospect of success, he might attack Philip's dominions in Italy. That the flower of the veteran Spanish bands had perished in the wars of Hungary, Germany, and the Low Countries; that the Emperor had left his son an exhausted treasury, and dominions drained of men; and that the French King might by one brisk effort drive the Spaniards out of Naples, and annex to his crown that kingdom, which had been the object of his predecessor's ambition for near half a century. Nor was it on arguments alone that Caraffa depended; by presents and flattery he gained the suffrages of Catharine of Medicis, and Diana Poitiers. Henry was incapable of resisting the

importunities of his consort and mistress, seconded by the ardour of the Duke of Guise, and the eloquence of his brother the Cardinal of Lorraine; his own genius, warlike and enterprising, corresponded with their inclinations; and he signed a new league with the Pope, which rekindled the flames of war both in Italy and the Low Countries.

As soon as Paul was informed by his nephew of his success, he dispatched a messenger after the Nuncio Rebiba, with orders to return to Rome, without proceeding to Brussels. As it was no longer necessary to preserve the character of a mediator, or to put any further restraint on his resentment, he boldly threw off the mask; he seized and imprisoned the Spanish Envoy at his court; he excommunicated the Colonnas who had been invariably attached to the house of Austria; and he ordered a legal information to be presented in the consistory of Cardinals against Philip, setting forth, that notwithstanding the fidelity and allegiance due by him to the Holy See, of which he held the kingdom of Naples, he had not only afforded a retreat in his dominions to those whom the Pope had declared rebels, but had furnished them with arms to invade the ecclesiastical state; and that such conduct in a vassal was to be deemed treason against his liege Lord, the punishment of which was the forfeiture of his fief.

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The violence which Paul indulged on this occasion was more injurious to his reputation, when contrasted with the conduct of Charles. The former, a priest, who had passed the early part of his life in the shade of the schools, and in the study of the speculative sciences, who was seemingly so detached from the world that he had shut himself up for many years in the solitude of a cloyster, and who was not raised to the papal throne until he had reached the extremity of old age, discovered at once all the impetuosity of a youthful ambition, and engaged in vast schemes, in order to accomplish which, he scrupled not to scatter the seeds of discord, and to kindle the flames of war, in every corner of Europe. The latter, a conqueror, born to reign, long accustomed to the splendour which accompanies supreme power, and to those busy interesting scenes in which an active ambition had engaged him, quitted the world at a period of life not far advanced, that he might close the evening of his days in tranquillity, and secure some interval for sober thought and serious recollection.

Nor was the moderation with which Philip bore the insults and arrogance of Paul, less the subject of admiration. But that prince, it has already been observed, had early imbibed a profound veneration for the Holy See; this sentiment had grown up with him as he advanced in years; and though the Spanish divines assured him, both by
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the laws of nature and Christianity, he might not only defend himself, but might commence hostilities to prevent the effects of Paul's violence and injustice, yet he continued to deliberate and delay, and openly complained of his hard fortune, that his administration should begin with an attack on a person, whose sacred function and character he so highly respected.

He at last determined on action; and the Duke of Alva, whose haughty and unrelenting disposition had recommended him to the favour of his sovereign, was ordered to enter the ecclesiastical territories. His army did not exceed twelve thousand men, but it was composed of veteran soldiers, and commanded chiefly by those Roman Barons whom Paul's violence had driven into rebellion.—Some cities were betrayed by the cowardice of their garrisons; others readily opened their gates; and Alva soon became master of the Campagna Romana; but that he might not be taxed with impiety, in seizing the patrimony of the church, he took possession of the towns which capitulated, in the name of the college of Cardinals, to which, or to the Pope who should be chosen to succeed Paul, he declared that he would immediately surrender them.

The light troops of the Spaniards soon penetrated to the gates of Rome; and Paul, though inflexible and undaunted himself, yielded to the fears and solicitations

licitations of the Cardinals, and proposed a cessation of arms. Alva, sensible how desirous his master was of terminating a war, which he had undertaken with infinite reluctance, closed with the overture, and consented first to a truce for ten, and afterwards for forty days.

A. D. 1557. But Paul was far from being sincere in his pacific professions; and no sooner was he informed that the Duke of Guise, with an army of twenty thousand men, composed of the best troops of France, was advancing to his support, than he banished all thoughts from his mind but those of war and revenge. He let loose all the fury of his resentment against Philip; he named commissioners to pronounce judgement in the suit which had been commenced against that prince, in order to prove that he had forfeited the crown of Naples, by taking arms against the Holy See, of which he was a vassal; and he commanded an addition to be made to the anathemas usually denounced against the enemies of the church, by which he inflicted the censure of excommunication on the authors of the late invasion of the ecclesiastical territories, however high might be their rank or dignity.

The Duke of Alva, though he could not but feel, and be exasperated at the perfidy of Paul, was incapable of chastising it; conscious of the inferiority of his forces to those of the French, he had retired towards the frontiers of Naples, and had provided

vided for the defence of that kingdom. But his own situation, however disagreeable, was scarce more so than that of the Duke of Guise. While the Pope indulged himself in wild and childish sallies of rage against Philip, he had neglected the necessary means to ensure the gratification of his resentment; neither the pecuniary nor military aid which he had engaged to furnish, were ready; the Italian states either preserved a strict neutrality, or were united in avowed opposition to him. The Duke of Guise soon perceived that all his hopes of success must depend upon himself; impelled, however, by the Pope's impatience for action, as well as by his own desire of distinguishing himself, he marched towards Naples, and began his operations. But the success of these fell far short of his former reputation, of what the world expected, and of what he himself had promised. He was repulsed from the walls of Civitella, a town on the Neapolitan frontiers; his army was wasted by sickness, and harassed by fruitless marches; and while the Spaniards again extended their devastations over the patrimony of St. Peter, he was compelled to return to Rome for the protection of that city. With a weak and querulous ally, with a broken and desponding army, he confined his hopes to the defence of the capital; and the flattering vision of Italian conquests was gradually banished from his mind.

While

While the war languished in Italy, it was prosecuted on the side of Flanders with vigour and promptitude. It was with indignation that Philip had received the intelligence of Henry's design to violate the truce of Vaucelles. By the alacrity and magnitude of his preparations, he was anxious to prove that his father had not erred when he resigned to his hands the reins of government. His influence over Mary was successfully exerted to prevail on England to embrace his quarrel; he assembled in the Low Countries an army of fifty thousand men; these were reinforced by eight thousand English, conducted by the Earl of Pembroke; the chief command was intrusted to Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy; and while Philip fixed his residence at Cambray, that he might be near the scene of action, the Duke of Savoy, after alarming France on the side of Champagne, advanced, by rapid marches, and invested St. Quentin in Picardy.

The siege of that town filled Henry with the most serious apprehensions; there were few fortified cities between it and Paris; but the works, though originally strong, had been long neglected; the garrison had been weakened by detachments sent towards Champagne; and the besiegers were stimulated by the importance of the prize which opened to them a direct road to the capital of France. A few days most probably would have crowned

their efforts with success; if Admiral Coligny considering his honour concerned to preserve a place within his jurisdiction, had not thrown himself into the town with a gallant band of followers, and by his skill and determined valour deferred its fate.

Policy stimulated Henry to attempt the relief of St. Quentin; the forces he could hastily assemble, he confided to the experience of the constable Montmorency, whose natural caution yielded to his desire of extricating his nephew Coligny from his dangerous situation. With this view, he advanced towards St. Quentin, and having given the command of a body of chosen men to D'Andelot, Coligny's brother, he ordered him to force his way into the town, while he himself drew the attention of the enemy by an alarm on the opposite side of the camp. In this perilous adventure, the greatest part of D'Andelot's detachment was cut to pieces, but the chief, with about five hundred of his followers, made good his entrance.

In the execution of his part of the plan, Montmorency was not equally fortunate. He had drawn too near the entrenchments of the besiegers to escape with impunity from so active and vigilant a commander as the Duke of Savoy. He had scarce begun to retire, before he was pressed by the superior numbers of the enemy; the ranks of the French were broken by the furious charge of Count Egmont,

mont, at the head of the cavalry, and their boasted men at arms fought ~~shelter~~ in a precipitate flight; the infantry, however, encouraged by the presence of the constable, still continued to retreat in good order, until the enemy brought some pieces of cannon to bear upon their centre, which threw them into such confusion, that they were unable to repulse the charge of the Flemish horse. The rout became universal; above four thousand perished on the field; and amongst these were the Duke D'Enguien, a prince of the blood, and six hundred gentlemen. As many more were made prisoners: the constable, after defending himself with the most heroic courage, and receiving a dangerous wound, was obliged to surrender; the Dukes of Montpensier and Longueville, with the Marschal St. André, were involved in the same fate; while the Spaniards might well exult in a victory that was purchased at the trifling loss of less than fourscore men.

In Cambray, Philip received the intelligence of the important success which had attended his arms. He immediately repaired to the camp of St. Quentin; an event which reflected so much lustre on the opening of his reign, softened for a moment the natural reserve of his temper; when the Duke of Savoy approached to kiss his hands, he prevented the compliment, embraced him with warmth, and exclaimed, “ it rather becomes me to kiss yours,

“ which have gained me such a glorious and almost bloodless victory.” To consider on the means of improving it, a council of war was immediately held; and had Philip listened to the advice of the Duke of Savoy, he would have relinquished the siege of St. Quentin, and have marched directly towards Paris. But that monarch, naturally cautious, was afraid of committing his forces in the heart of France without a single place to retreat to; he advised, therefore, the continuance of the siege; and his generals more readily acquiesced in his opinion, as they imagined the town could not long resist their efforts. But the courage of Coligny rose in proportion to the exigency and the danger; fruitful in resources, each moment seemed to display some new expedient; for seventeen days, he baffled the repeated assaults of the Spaniards, the Flemings, and the English; at length all opposition was overwhelmed by their superior numbers; Coligny himself was taken prisoner on the breach; and the standard of Philip was displayed on the walls of St. Quentin.

But the interval which the gallant resistance of Coligny afforded him had been assiduously employed by Henry; amidst the general dismay which the first intelligence of the defeat of St. Quentin had occasioned, his undaunted countenance served to revive the spirits of his subjects. He collected the scattered remains of the constable's army; he
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joined to it the ban and Arriere ban of the provinces; he recalled the veteran troops which served under the Marechal Brissac in Piedmont; he solicited the assistance of the Ottoman Porte; he incited the Scots to invade the north of England, and distract the attention of Mary; but his chief hopes were reposed on the Duke of Guise, whom he commanded to return with his army to the defence of France.

That nobleman received with pleasure the orders of his sovereign to quit a theatre, on which he had been exposed to continual disappointment and disgrace; but the emotions of Paul, on the intelligence, were far different; he inveighed, in the bitterest terms, against the ungenerous manner in which his allies deserted him; inflexible as he was, he found it necessary to accommodate his conduct to the exigency of his affairs; he employed the Venetians as mediators between himself and Philip.— And the latter, who had ever doubted the justice of his cause, embraced the first overtures of pacification; the Pope consented to renounce his league with France, and promised to maintain such a neutrality as became the common father of Christendom; while the King, on his side, engaged to restore all the towns of the ecclesiastical territory of which he had taken possession; and that the Duke of Alva should repair in person to Rome, and ask pardon in his own name, and that of his

master, for having invaded the patrimony of the church. Thus the conqueror appeared humble, and acknowledged his error, while the vanquished retained every mark of superiority; and such was the superstitious veneration of the Spaniards for the papal character, that Alva, though perhaps the proudest man of the age, and accustomed from his infancy to a familiar intercourse with princes, confessed when he approached the Pope, that his voice failed, and his presence of mind forsook him.

The Duke of Guise left Rome the day that the Duke of Alva made his humiliating submission to the Pope. The news of his march convinced Philip, that by persevering in the siege of St. Quentin, he had lost an opportunity that could never be recalled; and that it was in vain now to think of penetrating into the heart of France. He abandoned, probably without reluctance, a scheme which was too bold to be perfectly agreeable to his cautious temper; and employed his army, during the remainder of the campaign, in the sieges of Ham and Catelet. Of these he soon became master; and the reduction of two such petty towns, with the acquisition of St. Quentin, were all the advantages which he derived from one of the most splendid victories, gained in that century. But elated with success, and as all his passions were tinged with superstition, he, in memory of the battle which had
been

been fought on the day consecrated to St. Laurence, vowed to build a church, a monastery, and a palace, in honour of that saint and martyr. The same principle that dictated the vow enforced the religious observance of it; and in twenty-two years, under the persevering care of Philip, Madrid beheld arise the escorial, which, if not the most elegant, is certainly the most magnificent royal residence in Europe.

The Duke of Guise had been received in France as the guardian angel of that kingdom; the army with which he returned was joined by new levies, and swelled by reinforcements from Germany and Switzerland. Its numbers, and the reputation of its general, made Philip tremble for his new conquests; when the Duke, from menacing of the frontier towns of Flanders, suddenly turned to the left, to undertake a more arduous and important enterprise.

A. D. 1558. Calais had been taken by the English, under Edward the Third, and was the only place they retained of their ancient and extensive territories in France; but Mary and her Ministers, though admonished by Philip, and Lord Wentworth, who was the governor, from an injudicious economy, had neglected the works, and dismissed the greater part of the garrison. The Duke of Guise was apprised of these circumstances; and the rigour of the winter did not deter him from the

daring design; he suddenly invested the town, drove the English from the forts which protected it, and in eight days restored Calais to the dominion of the French, after it had been subject to England for two hundred and ten years. On this occasion, Henry imitated the policy of its former conqueror; he carefully expelled the English inhabitants, and new peopled the town with his own subjects, whom he allured to settle there by various advantageous immunities.

Yet whatever mortification Philip might suffer from beholding his consort and ally despoiled of the last possession which the English had maintained in France, he soon was consoled by a new event, which restored the ascendancy of his arms; the Marechal de Termes, Governor of Calais, had penetrated into Flanders, at the head of fourteen thousand men, stormed Dunkirk, and had advanced to Nieuport, when his career was checked by the approach of the Count of Egmont, at the head of a superior force. De Termes, encumbered with his spoil, endeavoured to retreat; but he was soon overtaken by the count, who pressed forwards, leaving behind his baggage and artillery, and forced his adversary to engage near Gravelines. The advantage of the ground, and the desperate valour of the French, held victory for some time in suspense; when a squadron of English ships, drawn to the coast by the sound of the firing, entered the
river

river Aa, and turned their guns on the right wing of the army of De Termes. This unexpected assistance re-animated the Flemings, and struck terror through the French; the latter fled with precipitation; two thousand were killed on the spot; a greater number perished by the hands of the enraged peasantry; and the Mareschal de Termes, with many officers of distinction, were taken prisoners.

This defeat, which revived the memory of the disastrous field of St. Quentin, recalled the Duke of Guise from the frontiers of the Netherlands, where he had planted the standard of his sovereign on the walls of Thionville, one of the strongest towns in the Dutchy of Luxembourg; with the remnant of the army of de Termes he was reinforced by numerous bodies of troops, drafted from the adjacent garrisons, and at the head of forty thousand men, he encamped in the presence of the Duke of Savoy, who had joined Count Egmont.— Each monarch placed himself at the head of his respective army, and it was expected that a decisive battle would at last determine which of the rivals should in future give law to Europe. But the fatal engagements at St. Quentin and Gravelines inspired Henry with a degree of caution which was not common to him; and Philip, of a genius averse to bold operations in war, was far from being disposed to hazard any thing against a general so fortunate and successful as the Duke of Guise.

Both

Both monarchs, as if by agreement, stood on the defensive, and fortifying their camps, carefully avoided every skirmish or encounter that might bring on a general engagement.

Their inaction discovered their mutual inclinations for peace; their kingdoms had been engaged for near half a century in almost continual wars.— Philip was impatient to return to Spain, to which country he was so fondly attached, that he never felt himself at ease in any other part of his dominions; and Henry was desirous to bend the whole force of his government towards suppressing the opinions of the reformers, which in France began already to grow formidable to the established church. Impressed by such motives, both monarchs were easily prevailed on to name Plenipotentiaries to adjust their jarring pretensions; and the abbey of Cerecamp was fixed on as the place of congress.

But the concurring wishes of both parties were checked by an event which occasioned an unavoidable delay in the negotiations. The feeble constitution and impatient temper of Mary were incapable of bearing the absence and indifference of a husband, on whom she doted with a childish fondness. His silence and contempt hastened the mortal effects of a dropsy; about a month after the opening of the conferences at Cerecamp, she ended her short and inglorious reign, and Elizabeth her sister was immediately proclaimed

proclaimed Queen, amidst the general acclamations of the people. As the powers of the English Plenipotentiaries expired on the death of their mistress, they could not proceed until they received a commission in form from their new sovereign; and even when that arrived, the peremptory tone with which she demanded the restitution of Calais, appeared an invincible obstacle; her pretensions were at first supported by Philip, who had flattered himself with the hope of obtaining her hand in marriage; but no sooner was he convinced of her invincible repugnance to his wishes, and beheld the zeal with which she embraced the re-establishment of the Protestant religion, than his friendship began to cool; Elizabeth, apprehensive of the desertion of her ally, grew less inflexible in her demands; and consented to leave Calais in the hands of the French, on condition that they should deliver it up at the end of eight years, or forfeit the sum of five hundred thousand crowns.

A. D. 1559. However indifferent Philip might have really grown to the interests of Elizabeth, he still preserved the appearance of maintaining his engagements with fidelity, nor would he ratify any treaty between himself and Henry, till the conditions of peace between the latter and Elizabeth were formally signed. The day after that event had taken place, his commissioners subscribed at Cateau-Cambresis, the treaty between Spain and

and France. The articles of it were as honourable to the former, as they were disadvantageous to the latter. Besides the preliminary that both monarchs should labour in concert to check the progress of heresy, it was stipulated that all conquests made by either party on this side of the Alps, since the commencement of the war in one thousand five hundred and fifty one, should be mutually restored; that the dutchy of Savoy, the principality of Piedmont; the country of Bresse, and all the other territories formerly subject to the Dukes of Savoy, should be delivered to Emanuel Philibert, the towns of Turin, Quiers, Pigneroll, excepted, which Henry might keep possession of until his claims to those places, in right of his grandmother, should be tried and decided by course of law. That as long as Henry retained them in his hands, Philip should be at liberty to keep garrisons in the towns of Vercelli, and Asti. That the French King should immediately evacuate all the places which he held in Tuscany and the Sieneſe, and renounce all future pretensions to them; that he should restore the Marquisate of Montferrat to the Duke of Mantua; that he should receive the Genoese into favour, and give up to them the towns which he had conquered in the island of Corsica; and that none of the princes or states to whom these cessions were made, should call their subjects to account for any part of their conduct while under

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der the dominion of their enemies, but should bury all past transactions in oblivion.

Whatever might be the satisfaction of the ministers of Philip, the French loudly arraigned the judgment of their monarch, in giving up an hundred and eighty nine fortified places in the Low Countries, or in Italy, in return for the three insignificant towns of St. Quentin, Ham, and Catelet. But the secret motives of Henry were unfolded by a negociation of domestic alliance which had accompanied the treaty of peace; Philip and the Duke of Savoy engaged to espouse Elizabeth and Margaret, the daughter and sister of Henry; and the French King, gratified with having procured such honourable establishments for his family, bartered the interests of the state to secure the grandeur of his house, and consented to conditions which otherwise he would have rejected with indignation.

Chapter the Eighteenth.

Philip sails for Spain—Scarce lands before his Fleet is dispersed by a violent Tempest—Vows, on Account of his Escape, to devote his Reign to the Extirpation of Heresy—Presides at the Execution of several Protestants at Valladolid—Death of the King of France—Marriage between Philip and the Princess Elizabeth of France—Depredations of the Piratical States of Barbary—Unfortunate Expedition against Tripoli—Valour of Don Alvaro de Sande—Apprehensions of Philip—Hascem, Viceroy of Algiers, besieges Mazelquivir—He is compelled to retreat—Pennon de Velez is taken by the Spaniards—The States of Barbary Implore the Protection of Solymán—His Preparations for War—He attacks Malta—Conduct of la Valette, Grand Master of the Order—Valiant Defence of the Knights—St. Elmo is taken—Relief of Malta—The Turkish army is defeated by the Spaniards.

A. D. 1559. **T**HE treaty of Cateau-Cambresis
 1564. allowed Philip the opportunity for which he had so long languished of returning to Spain. He sailed from Zealand with a numerous fleet, and arrived at Laredo in the Province of Biscay. But he had scarcely landed before a dreadful

ful storm arose, which scattered or overwhelmed the ships that had escorted him; above a thousand of his subjects were the victims to the tempest; and an invaluable collection of pictures and statues from Italy and Flanders, in collecting of which the late Emperor had employed near forty years, was buried in the ocean.

The superstitious disposition of Philip was conspicuous in every action of his life; his vow to St. Laurence in return for the victory of St. Quentin has already been noticed; and on his escape from the danger of the sea, he solemnly dedicated his reign to the defence of the Roman Catholic faith, and the extirpation of heresy.

His subjects had soon too much reason to lament the rigid punctuality with which he fulfilled the holy engagement. The opinions of Luther, which had rapidly spread through the greatest part of Europe, had been checked by the severe policy of the inquisition; that tribunal, which had originally been established by Ferdinand and Isabella to prevent the Jews and Moors who had been baptised, from relapsing into their antient errors, had stretched its jurisdiction over the united kingdoms of Castille and Arragon. In the various provinces twenty thousand spies were interested to accuse, and eighteen inquisitorial courts were impatient to condemn the unhappy wretch, whose slightest expression could be tortured into disapprobation

bation of the established church. Such were their zeal and vigilance, that a number of persons, suspected of inclining to the doctrines of the reformed, had been committed to the flames. When Philip arrived at Valladolid, there were still thirty in the prisons of the inquisition, against whom the same dreadful sentence had been denounced; he commanded these miserable wretches to be dragged to execution; the dreadful ceremony was conducted with a pomp which only the rage of superstition could inspire; Philip himself, accompanied by his son Carlos, by his sister, and attended by his courtiers and guards, was the unmoved spectator of the inhuman sacrifice; as the executioners led a Protestant nobleman of the name of Sessa, to the stake, he invoked the mercy of his sovereign; "canst thou, O King, exclaimed he, thus witness the torments of thy subjects; save us from this cruel death; we have not deserved it." "No," replied the furious and bigoted monarch, "I would myself carry wood to burn my own son, were he such a wretch as thou art."

The horror which had been excited by the execution at Valladolid was forgotten in the preparations of Toledo for the approaching marriage of her sovereign. The Duke of Alba had been sent to Paris to espouse, in the name of Philip, the Princess Elizabeth, but the splendour of the cere-

mony was clouded by a fatal and unexpected event. Jousts and tournaments on the occasion had been proclaimed by Henry, who was proud to display his skill in the martial exercises of the age. He had already given signal proofs of his prowess, when on the last day he was desirous of breaking a lance against the Count of Montgomery, distinguished, above his contemporaries by his superior address in these combats. Montgomery, at the command of his sovereign, entered the lists, though with avowed reluctance; the shock was rude on both sides; but the Count's lance breaking against the King's helmet, he attacked Henry with the stump; it entered above his right eye; and the monarch, bereaved of speech and understanding, fell instantly to the ground; he was conveyed to his palace; and his death, which soon followed, devolved his sceptre on the feeble Francis, and exposed his kingdoms to all the calamities which flow from wild ambition and intemperate zeal.

This event naturally suspended, but it did not break off the marriage of Philip; the ministers of Francis, and his mother Catherine of Medicis, who had assumed the chief direction of affairs in France, avowed their intentions punctually to fulfil the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis; the Princess Elizabeth was conducted to the frontiers of Spain, by the King of Navarre; she was there received by a

splendid train of Spanish nobility; the nuptials were celebrated with royal magnificence at Toledo; but however amiable her qualities, she was condemned to a consort whose gloomy and austere disposition rendered him incapable of domestic happiness, and whose bosom, occupied by pride and superstition, had no room for the tender sentiments of private life.

Even in the zenith of his power, Charles the fifth had been unable entirely to protect his subjects from the piratical depredation of the states of Barbary. These still continued their incursions along the coast of Sicily and Naples; and the terror which the name of Barbarossa had inspired was revived in that of Dragut. That Corsair, during the late war, in the name of France, had subdued almost the whole island of Corsica; and though his career had been interrupted by the peace of Cateau-Cambresis, he had persisted in ravaging, with indefatigable rapacity, the shores of the Mediterranean. But no sooner was Philip relieved from the weight of war with France, than he prepared to avenge the injuries that had been offered to his subjects by Dragut. The care of assembling a sufficient fleet was intrusted to the Duke of Medina Cœli, Governor of Sicily; the vessels of Spain were joined by those of Doria, by the gallies of the Pope, and by a squadron belonging to the order of Malta. Fourteen thousand veteran
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soldiers were embarked on board, and convoyed by an hundred ships; and the Duke of Medina Cœli himself assumed the chief command of the armament; but the abilities of the chief were far from equal to the enterprize; and so injudiciously had the preparations been conducted, that while the fleet was detained by contrary winds in the harbour of Syracuse, near four thousand of the troops perished of an epidemical disease, occasioned by the unwholesomeness of the provisions. A prosperous breeze at length permitted it to steer towards Tripoli, the principal retreat of Dragut; but before the Duke ventured to attack that fortress he thought it prudent to render himself master of the adjacent island of Gerba; the possession of that place occasioned a second and more fatal delay; against the remonstrances of his ablest officers, the general determined to preserve and strengthen the castle; and the troops were still occupied in the ungrateful labour, when they were surprised by the unwelcome intelligence of the approach of the infidels.

When the confederate fleet sailed from Syracuse, Dragut had been engaged in an inland war against one of the independent Princes of Barbary; but he was no sooner informed of the enterprize of the Christians, than he abandoned the hopes of new conquests to defend his former acquisitions. The time that had been wasted in the reduction of Gerba,

allowed him to collect his scattered cruisers; he represented to Solyman, that the moment was arrived to crush the naval force of the enemies of his faith and empire; the squadrons of the Porte were joined to those of Barbary; and a favourable wind enabled Dragut to press forwards with a celerity proportioned to his thirst of vengeance.

A Maltese frigate apprised the Christians of his approach, and their danger; a council of war was immediately assembled: the most daring of the leaders proposed to meet and encounter the enemy; but this advice was probably rather the result of martial ardour than prudence; and Doria, whose courage was unquestionable, and whose reputation had been the harvest of many a bloody conflict, declared, that considering the sickly state of the troops, they could not hazard an engagement without the most imminent risk of a total defeat. The Duke of Medina Cœli, with that indecision natural to weak minds, balanced between both opinions; and was neither prepared for action nor retreat, when he beheld, with terror, the sails and ensigns of the infidels; he then gave the signal for flight; and it was obeyed with the confusion that in such a critical moment might naturally have been expected; himself, with Doria, and some of his principal officers, passed in the night through the hostile fleet, and escaped to Malta; but several of the ships were entangled and lost
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among the flats and shallows; others were driven back by the winds on the enemy, and wrecked on the coast; above thirty became the prey of the Turks; near one thousand veterans sunk in the waves, or perished by the sword; and five hundred in chains accused the incapacity of their leader.

When the Duke of Medina Cœli consulted his own safety by flight, he intrusted the defence of the castle of Gerba to Don Alvaro de Sandé, with strong assurances that he would soon return to his support. Though Alvaro was far from confiding in his promises, yet with the gallantry peculiar to the Spanish nation, he received with transport the dangerous duty assigned to him. His scanty garrison was augmented by the crews of the Christian vessels which had been wrecked on the island; and the impatience of the infidels delivered him from the dread of an inglorious and lingering death, which his slender stock of provisions must have impressed. Scarce had Dragut established his triumph on the sea, than he disembarked his followers, and laid siege to the castle of Gerba. Twelve thousand Turks, under the conduct of Piali, one of the best officers of Solymán, added stability to the desultory attacks of the Moors; but though they urged the assault with that fury which national enmity and religious enthusiasm inspire, the Christians, animated by the example of Alvaro, repulsed them for several days with steady valour;

but the struggle was more honourable than successful; the Turkish batteries had reduced the greatest part of the fortifications to an heap of ruins; the vigour of the garrison had withered beneath incessant toil, and the effects of a burning and unwholesome climate; and the mournful survivors, who scarce amounted to a thousand men, were called together by the brave Alvaro, who still rejected all offers of capitulation; he stated to them their desperate condition, reminded them of the glory they had acquired, and demanded whether they would tamely yield themselves the slaves of a barbarous enemy, or imitate his example, and die boldly fighting for the honour of their religion and their country. With one voice they exclaimed, "that they preferred death to slavery, and" "were ready to follow wheresoever he should" "lead them." By the direction of their chief, the remnant of the provisions was distributed amongst them; a few hours of repose recruited their exhausted strength; about the middle of the night, they silently sallied from the walls, and spread terror and slaughter through the infidel camp. They had almost reached the tent of the general, when their career was arrested by the chosen bands of the Janizaries. Encompassed on every side, their resistance was still desperate, and they fell, covered with wounds. Alvaro, himself, with two of his officers, forced his way through
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the surrounding hosts to the sea-side, and gained the wreck of a Spanish vessel; there, at dawn of day, he was discerned erect and undaunted, with his target in one hand, and his sword in the other, awaiting the charge of the foe. Barbarous as were his enemies they could not but admire his valour. The fury of the Moors and Turks was checked by the voice of Piali; a solemn assurance of honourable treatment was repeated, in the name of that chief, by a Genoese renegado; Alvaro consented to lay down his arms; and after a short captivity at Constantinople, was ransomed by the gratitude of his sovereign.

It was not without emotion that Philip received the intelligence of the defeat of the Christian fleet, and the destruction of the garrison of Gerba. Yet naturally obstinate, he refused to acknowledge his own error in the choice of a commander, by withdrawing his favour from the Duke of Medina Cœli. As he could hardly doubt that Piali would pursue his victory, and ravage the coasts of Spain and Italy, large bodies of troops were marched to the sea-side; watch towers were constructed along the shore, and numerous cruisers were fitted out with a diligence proportioned to the supposed danger. But the ambition of Solymán was directed towards the frontiers of Persia; and the recall of his fleet and forces alleviated the apprehensions of the Spaniards.

The success of Dragut excited to arms the other piratical chiefs of Barbary ; Hascem, the viceroy of Algiers, and the son of Barbarossa, was not unworthy the fame of his father. He beheld with indignation the Christian banners displayed from the walls of Oran and Mazarquivir, which had been wrested from the infidels by the vigorous administration of Ximenes. His own forces were swelled to an hundred thousand men, by the confederacy of several of the states of Barbary ; and a fleet of thirty ships blocked up the harbour of Mazarquivir, while Hascem in person pressed the siege by land. The example of the garrison of Gerba was imitated with better success by that of Mazarquivir ; amidst the same difficulties they displayed the same valour, but they were not abandoned to the same destiny ; their distress, and the dishonour which would have attended the loss of his possessions in Africa, stimulated Philip to the most vigorous exertions. He collected a numerous fleet from the various ports of Spain and Italy ; the appointment of Don Francis Mendoza to command it, justified his discernment ; and the Spanish Admiral, with a favourable wind, soon appeared in sight of the coast of Africa. The infidels, in their turn, were surprised and defeated ; nine of the ships of Hascem were captured ; and that Corsair retired with shame and precipitation from the walls of Mazarquivir ; his fears outstripped the pursuit
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of the Christians; who, after displaying their triumphant ensigns within sight of the towers of Algiers, retreated within their ancient limits.

It was not only by defensive operations that Philip aspired to restore the honour of his arms; the rovers of Africa were taught in their turn to tremble at the sound of war. The rise of Cara Mustapha had been familiar to that of the other piratical chiefs of Barbary; from a common seaman, his daring spirit had preferred him to the command of a vessel; and his success in that station had enabled him to fit out a squadron of six or seven galleys. With these he traversed the Mediterranean with indefatigable activity. His retreat, and the repository of his plunder, was the fort of Penon de Velez, which, in those days, was esteemed almost impregnable; situated on a steep and narrow rock, it was inaccessible, except by a narrow path, which had been cut with infinite labour; and it was separated from the continent by a channel, which served as an harbour for the vessels of Mustapha, whence they issued to infest the trade of the Christian powers.

The subjects of Philip had been principally the victims of the depredations of Mustapha; and the dignity of that monarch no longer suffered him patiently to endure the insolence and rapacity of the Corsair; yet the preparations of the King of Spain sufficiently proved how deeply his mind had been

impressed by the defeat of Gerba. Far from relying on his own naval force, he solicited the assistance of the crown of Portugal, and the order of Malta; nor did he suffer the armament to sail from Malaga, until it had been swelled to ninety large galleys, besides sixty vessels of an inferior size, on board of which were embarked thirteen thousand veteran soldiers.

The object of this formidable fleet and army had not eluded the vigilance and penetration of Mustapha; to prevent his ships from becoming the prey of the enemy, he had himself quitted the harbour; and had intrusted the command of the fortress to a Ranegado of the name of Ferret, who was supported by a band of two hundred Turks; had the fortitude and fidelity of the governor been equal to the strength of the place; it is probable the Christians would have been obliged to have abandoned the enterprise with disgrace; but the Spanish batteries had scarcely opened before the fears of Ferret were communicated to the garrison. The necessity of consulting their own safety was insinuated by the former, and readily approved by the latter. Part escaped by swimming in the night to the continent; the rest delivered up the gates; while the victors, as they gazed on the united effects of art and nature, could not repress their exultation at the facility of the acquisition.

Spain

Spain participated in the transports of the victors; but the joy, which the reduction of Penon de Velez inspired, was not long pure and unalloyed. Solyman had long been accustomed to consider himself as the general protector of the followers of Mahomet; his power and abilities were not unequal to the arduous duty. The Christian standard, displayed in triumph on the coast of Africa, insulted his glory. The squadrons of Dragut and Hascem were again assembled in his harbours; his own fleet was diligently augmented; and the numerous bands of Spahis and Janizaries were impatient to merit Paradise in support of the doctrines of the Koran. It was undetermined on whose head the tempest should instantly burst. The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, expelled by the Sultan from Rhodes, had, in the rock of Malta, which had been granted to them by the late Emperor, retained their ancient spirit and implacable enmity to the infidels. Their cruisers had interrupted the commerce of Constantinople; their gallies had been conspicuous in every enterprise against Africa; and they fulfilled with active punctuality the vow they had entered into of eternal warfare with the Moslems. Yet though the honour of Solyman was concerned to punish their presumption, the remonstrances of Mahomet, one of his most able and experienced officers, were exerted to defer the hour of vengeance. He represented that Malta was

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was merely a rock, incapable of affording subsistence to the Turkish troops; that it would be defended by the knights with the utmost obstinacy; and that the King of Spain, and the other Christian Princes, would think themselves bound to support an order of men whom they had long regarded as the champions of their faith. Even should it be reduced, a crusade would probably be instantly formed by the principal powers of Europe for its recovery; and the Turkish fleet might be destroyed in its harbours, before it could be put into a posture of defence. Sicily, he observed, presented an easier and more important conquest. The acquisition of that island would advance more the glory of the Sultan, as well as the power of his empire; and the reduction of it would soon be followed by the submission of Malta, which could not subsist a single season, without those continual supplies that it derived from that fertile region.

Solyman was not insensible to the arguments of Mahomet, but accustomed to triumph over more formidable enemies, and having himself formerly expelled the Knights of St. John from Rhodes, when their power was more considerable than at present, he could not believe that they would long be able to resist his arms; while he yet revolved the various counsels of the Divan, a new circumstance inflamed his resentment against the Order of Malta. One of the galleys of that island had captured

captured a vessel, fraught with a precious cargo of female luxury for the use of the seraglio. The tears of the beauteous inmates revealed their loss; the judgment of the monarch was overwhelmed by the passions of the man; and he determined to suspend his designs against Spain and Sicily, until he had avenged the sorrows of his favourites, in the extinction of those who had occasioned them.

A. D. 1565. The preparations for the enterprise were worthy of the prince who directed it. Forty thousand Janizaries, or Spahis, the flower of the Ottoman armies, were embarked on board, or conveyed by two hundred vessels. The land forces were intrusted to Mustapha, whose valour and experience had been approved in the wars of Hungary; and the fleet was conducted by Hascem, by Dragut, and Piali, whose names were the terror of the Mediterranean.

Though in every perilous adventure, the daring spirit of the Knights of St. John had been the theme of admiration, yet in the impending contest they could not, without some emotions of anxiety, measure their own resources with the hostile weight of the Ottoman empire. One hope, however, remained, and on the fortitude and abilities of their Grand Master, John de La Valette Parisot, they could repose with confidence. At an advanced period of life, that extraordinary man retained all the vigour of youth; and no sooner was he informed

ed of the storm which menaced, than he declared his resolution to conquer or to perish with the Order. While he reserved the privilege of a glorious death, he did not neglect the means of a successful defence. He imported arms, military stores, and provisions; he caused two thousand troops to be levied by his agents in Italy; he ordered the inhabitants to be diligently trained to discipline; he repaired the fortifications, visited every post in person, and summoned the knights dispersed through the several kingdoms of Europe to repair to Malta; these obeyed with alacrity; and such as age or infirmities prevented from partaking the martial toils of their brethren, freely contributed to the general cause, by sending whatever money they could raise on their credit, or by the sale of their effects.

Yet it was on the succour of the different princes of Christendom that the Grand Master relied for repulsing the attacks of the infidels. The members of every Christian state had alternately been protected, or rescued from slavery, by the valour of the Knights of St. John; none, however, had experienced so frequently the happy effects of their eternal enmity with the followers of Mahomet as the subjects of Philip; nor could that monarch doubt, that though the Turkish armament was first destined against Malta, it would soon be employed against himself. In consequence of this apprehension, he had formed in Italy a camp of twenty thousand

thousand veterans ; he had assembled a numerous fleet at Messina, and had instructed Don Garcia de Toledo, the Viceroy of Sicily, to watch over the preservation of Malta, with the same solicitude as if Sicily itself were to be attacked ; but the magnanimity of these instructions were clogged by a private condition ; and Don Garcia was secretly admonished not to expose the Spanish force to the first fury of the tempest, but patiently to await the moment when the strength of the Turks should be diminished or divided by the length and operations of the siege.

Whatever might be his expectations of future assistance, Valette was assured that the order must depend on their own fortitude to withstand the first onset of the enemy ; he reviewed the companions of his dangers, and found they amounted to seven hundred knights, and eight thousand five hundred soldiers ; to these the holy sacrament was administered ; nor was it long before the appearance of the Ottoman armament called upon them to ratify with their blood the solemn obligation they had embraced.

About the middle of May, the Turkish fleet cast anchor before Malta ; the superiority of their numbers enabled the troops to effect with ease their landing ; they spread themselves over the island, set fire to the villages, and massacred the peasants who had not sheltered themselves within the fortifications.

fications. They were not suffered to pursue their ravages with impunity ; and De Copier, a gallant knight, and Marshal of the Order, who had sallied forth with two hundred horse, and six hundred foot, to watch their motions, cut off fifteen hundred of the invaders, with the loss of only eighty of his followers ; great as the disparity might appear, so disproportioned were the resources of the contending parties, that the Grand Master could not venture to purchase a second advantage even at that price ; he restrained the ardour of his followers, and confined their future efforts to the defence of their forts.

In this their valour was not long suffered to remain inactive ; though the invaders declined the town of Il Borgo, where the principal strength of the Order had been assembled, they instantly laid siege to St. Elmo, a fortrets which commanded the entrance of the harbour. Its works had been repaired, but its strongest defence was the constancy of the knights and garrison ; these, instead of being dismayed, were animated by the extremity of the danger, and their knowledge of the unrelenting temper of the infidels ; their scanty band was swelled by successive reinforcements from Il Borgo ; they were supplied with every engine of offence that the destructive ingenuity of man could devise ; and despair taught them to use their weapons with fatal efficacy ; they frequently sallied from their
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intrenchments, and levelled the works of the besiegers; they repulsed the Turks in repeated attacks; and Dragut, who had confidently answered for their speedy reduction, was in one assault the victim of his temerity. Through the month of June, and the greatest part of July, their invincible resolution had protracted the fate of St. Elmo; but their communication with the rest of the island was interrupted, and the contest became too unequal; thousands of the Moslems had perished; but thousands more pressed forwards to conquest or paradise. The walls were in a great measure levelled, the ditch filled up, and in the bosoms of the garrison even hope itself was extinguished; yet instead of capitulating, or attempting to escape, with the courage of heroes, and the piety of Christians, they prepared for death, and passed the night in prayer, and in receiving the sacrament; after having for the last time mournfully embraced each other, they repaired to their respective posts; while such of the wounded as were incapable of moving without support, were, at their own solicitations, carried to the side of the breach, and firmly waited the approach of the Ottoman army.

Early in the morning of the twenty-third of July, a day which will ever be memorable in the annals of Malta, the Turks, with loud cries, advanced to the assault as to certain victory. They were encountered by an handful of men, who resolved on

glory, and despising death, displayed a degree of prowess and valour that filled their enemies with astonishment. During four hours, the obstinate and bloody struggle was continued, until not only every knight but every soldier had fallen, except a few who escaped by swimming. The standard of Mahomet was then planted on the ruins of St. Elmo, and the Turkish fleet entered in triumph the harbour which the fort had commanded; yet the exultation of Mustapha was allayed by the recollection of the numbers that had been sacrificed to the acquisition; as he cast a look of mingled surprise and resentment on the shattered works, "What," exclaimed he, alluding to the capital, "will not the father cost us, since the son has been purchased at the expence of so many thousands of our bravest troops?" In a gallant bosom, the reflection would have awakened esteem and veneration towards the fallen enemy. But the heroic fortitude of the besieged served only to excite the brutal fury of Mustapha; such of the Christians who were found on the breach still breathing, he commanded to be ript open, and their hearts torn out; their bodies were diligently searched for, and as an insult to their religion, huge gaspes, in form of a cross, were made in them; they were bound to planks, and were thrown into the sea, to be wafted by the wind and tide to the town of Il Borgo, or the fortress of St. Angelo.

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The Grand Master had been prevented only by the intreaties of his knights from burying himself beneath the ruins of St. Elmo ; he was melted into tears by the melancholy spectacle of the mangled remains of those Christian heroes, who had laid down their lives in obedience to his commands, and for the preservation of the Order ; but the emotions of pity and regret soon gave way to the violent passions of indignation and revenge. To teach Mustapha to make war with less barbarity, he caused all the Turks whom he had taken prisoners to be massacred, and shot their heads from the cannon of St. Angelo into the camp of the besiegers.

In the siege of St. Elmo, the slaughter of ten thousand infidels would not atone for the fate of fifteen hundred Christian soldiers, including one hundred and thirty of the most gallant knights. The Grand Master was deeply affected by the loss of the latter ; but he wisely dissembled his concern ; his countenance displayed his wonted magnanimity ; and his example inspired the companions of his fortunes with a steady resolution to defend the town and the other forts to the last extremity.

For a moment Mustapha had flattered himself that the fate of the garrison of St. Elmo would have intimidated the Knights of St. John, and have inclined them to listen to terms of capitula-

tion. In the vain hope, he had dispatched to Il Borgo, an officer, with a flag of truce, attended by a Christian slave, designed to serve as his interpreter. The Turk was not permitted to enter the town; but the Christian was admitted; was led through the troops under arms, and after viewing the fortifications of the place, was desired to notice the depth and breadth of the ditch; "Behold," said Valette, "the only spot we can afford to Mustapha; and there we hope soon to bury him, and all his Janizaries."

The insulting answer was faithfully reported; the fiery temper of the Basha was exasperated by the scornful reply, and he was aroused to fresh exertions. Though his troops were greatly diminished, they were still sufficient to invest at once both the town of Il Borgo and the fort of St. Michael. His assaults were peculiarly directed against the latter; and he was confirmed in his expectation of success, by the arrival of Hascem, the son of Barbarossa, with two thousand five hundred soldiers, who, from their desperate valour, had attained the distinction of the *bravoes* of Algiers. Hascem, who inherited his father's daring and enterprising spirit, and was ambitious to signalize himself in the service of Solyman, demanded to be intrusted with the attack of St. Michael, and vaunted, with his usual arrogance, that he would soon make himself master of it sword in hand.

Mustapha

Mustapha readily consented to indulge his temerity ; but though on the edge of the breach which the Turkish artillery had made, he maintained a long and bloody conflict, he was obliged to yield to the invincible courage of the knights ; and after having beheld the greatest part of his braves perish by his side, he consented to sound a retreat. The Janizaries, who had advanced to supply the place of the Algerines, shared their fate ; they rushed forwards with fury ; they were received with firmness, and were driven back with disgrace, and near three thousand were slaughtered in the action and flight.

While Mustapha incessantly urged the attack of St. Michael, Piali with no less vigour pressed the siege of Il Borgo. His batteries had demolished the outworks of that place, and had thrown down part of the wall ; and so imminent was the danger, that in a general council of the Order, the majority of the knights were of opinion, that the fortifications which remained should be blown up, and that the garrison and inhabitants should retire within the citadel of St. Angelo. This advice was, however, rejected with horror and indignation by the Grand Master ; he represented that the execution of it would in effect deliver the whole island into the hands of the infidels. Fort Michael, he observed, which had been so gallantly defended, and which was preserved by its communication with the town,

would then be reduced to the necessity of surrendering; nor was there sufficient room in St. Angelo for the troops and inhabitants. With equal firmness he withstood the proposal of retiring thither himself with the relics of the saints, and the sacred ornaments of the churches. Such measures, he remarked, would only serve to intimidate the soldiers: "No," added he, "we must conceal our apprehensions; it is here we must either die or conquer; and is it possible, that at the age of twenty-one, I can end my life so honourably as in fighting with my friends and brethren, against the implacable enemies of our holy faith?" The language of magnanimity prevailed; his generous despair was infused into every bosom; and a new rally scattered slaughter and dismay through the camp of the besiegers, and restored the confidence of the besieged.

Yet amidst every success, the eyes of the Christians were incessantly directed towards Sicily; and they anxiously expected to behold the advancing sails of that armament which had been assembled at Messina for their relief. The repeated delays of the viceroy had exposed him to a suspicion that he dreaded to encounter with an admiral of such reputation as Piali; but the orders of his own court checked the ardour of that nobleman; and Philip, who was affected by the danger of the knights, only as it threatened his own dominions, was resolved

solved not to interpose until the strength of the Turks was broken ; in this conduct he persevered so long, that, under a less able commander than Valette, the reduction of Malta might have disappointed his selfish plan ; and as on the capture of the island, his own fleet would probably have been immediately attacked, he would have had little reason to have exulted in his timid, ungenerous counsels. At length, when the Ottoman forces were reduced from between forty and fifty, to sixteen thousand men, and apparently the order, without his assistance, would have compelled them to retire, about the middle of September the viceroy landed six thousand veterans, under the conduct of Don Alvaro de Sande, who had already signalized himself in the defence of Gerba. This reinforcement had been magnified by rumour ; and Mustapha heard with terror that the flower of the Spanish armies were disembarked on Malta, and were in full march to force his camp. Without waiting for farther information, he withdrew his garrison from St. Elmo, abandoned his artillery, and sought the refuge of his ships ; he had scarcely got on board, when he was assured by a deserter, that he had fled before an army which scarce amounted in number to one third of his own ; at the same time, he beheld the standard of Christ again erected on the walls of St. Elmo. Though conscious, from this circumstance, what additional toils await-

ed him, he dreaded to appear before his sovereign, without some new effort. His soldiers obeyed his orders with reluctance; even the bravest Janizaries confessed their fears as they touched again the inauspicious shore; they yielded, however, to the menaces of their officers; and with countenances that revealed the apprehensions of their hearts, moved slowly to attack the camp of the Christians.

Intrenched on a rising ground, the Spaniards might have availed themselves of the advantages of their position, without committing themselves to the open plain. But this advice, which was enforced by the principal officers, ill suited the high spirit of the adventurous de Sandé. Impatient to efface the disgrace of his former captivity in the blood of the infidels, he led his troops out of their works; and this conduct, more fortunate perhaps than prudent, augmented the fears of the Turks. Attacked at the same moment in front and on their flanks, their rout in a moment became universal; Mustapha himself was hurried along with the fugitives; twice, amidst the confusion, he fell from his horse, and must have been made prisoner, had not his officers rescued him. But though the chief escaped, his soldiers paid the penalty of his obstinacy; they were pursued to the edge of the sea; and above two thousand perished by the swords of the Spaniards, while the loss on the side of the victors amounted only to fourteen.

Such, after four month's continuance, was the conclusion of the siege of Malta, which will ever be memorable, on account of that heroic valour which enabled a slender band of knights to baffle the hostile efforts of the most powerful monarch in the world. The news of their deliverance gave universal joy to the Christian powers; and the name of the grand master excited every where the highest applause and admiration. Congratulations were sent him from every quarter; and in many states public rejoicings were celebrated on account of his success. The King of Spain, who derived greater advantage than any other from that glorious defence to which la Valette had so conspicuously contributed, by his ambassador presented him with a sword and dagger, of which the hilts were solid gold, adorned with diamonds; and engaged to pay him annually a sum of money to assist him in repairing his ruined fortifications.

Chapter the Nineteenth.

Religious Commotions of France—Ancient Government of the Netherlands—Situation of the Inhabitants—Their peculiar Privileges—Disgusted with the manners of Philip—They are inclined to the Protestant Faith—They remonstrate against the Continuance of Foreign Forces in the Low Countries—Administration of the Duchess of Parma—Character of Cardinal Granvelle—Of the Prince of Orange—Of the Counts Egmont and Horn—Recall of Granvelle—Philip persists in Measures of Rigour—Embassy of the Count of Egmont to Madrid—Duplicity of Philip—Suspensions of the Prince of Orange—Account of the Compromise—Bold Conduct of the Confederates—Insurrection of the Protestants—Chiefly quelled by the Prince of Orange—New Levies of Troops—Resistance of Valenciennes—Oppressive Measures of the Government—Revolt of Count Brederode—He is obliged to retire into Germany.

A. D. 1565. **T**HE power and formidable preparations of Solyman had alarmed, without uniting, the jarring sects of Christianity. The emotions of fear were overwhelmed by the head-long torrent of religious enmity. From the Pyrenees to the frontiers of Flanders, from the ocean to the borders of Germany, the followers of the doctrines of Calvin and

and Luther beheld themselves exposed to the persecution of the established church. The feeble Francis was no more, and the infancy of Charles the Ninth was directed by the intriguing spirit of his mother Catherine of Medicis. The sword was already drawn; at Dreux, near Normandy, the rival parties engaged with all that rage which holy rancour inspires; the blood which was wasted that day might have established in arms the triumph of the gospel over the tenets of the Koran; after a long and obstinate struggle, the Protestants were compelled to yield; the Prince of Condé, one of their most celebrated leaders, was made prisoner; their destruction appeared inevitable; when the Duke of Guise, to whose genius the victory of Dreux was principally attributed, as he pressed the siege of Orleans, fell by the hand of an assassin; his death moderated the hopes of the Catholics; and a treaty was concluded with the reformed, by which the latter were indulged in the free exercise of their religion.

Philip had not been an inattentive observer of the affairs of France; zealously attached to the See of Rome, he could not be indifferent to events which seemed to menace its authority in a neighbouring state; and the situation of his own dominions rendered him at the present moment peculiarly anxious and vigilant. Spain indeed was overawed by his presence, and by the formidable jurisdiction

dition of the inquisition; but the Netherlands were productive of more hardy and more stubborn minds. Those provinces, which had been long administered by their respective dukes and counts, had, in the nature of their government, rather inclined to a republican than a monarchical constitution. Their Princes, engaged in frequent wars with the neighbouring powers or with each other, were obliged to have recourse to their subjects for supplies; these were seldom granted without extorting some concession in return; various privileges were gradually acquired by the cities, the nobles, and the ecclesiastics. The supreme authority was lodged in the assembly of the states, which had the power of meeting as often as the members deemed expedient; without the consent of that assembly, no war could be undertaken, no taxes could be imposed, no new laws enacted; no change could be made in the coin, and no foreigners admitted into any branch of the administration. The sovereignty descended according to the ordinary rule of hereditary succession; but no prince was allowed to enter upon the exercise of it, till he had solemnly sworn to observe and maintain the fundamental laws of the country.

When by conquest, marriage, and a combination of various events, these provinces were united under the dominion of the house of Burgundy, their constitution remained nearly the same; they
still

still enjoyed their ancient privileges; and trade and commerce naturally attracted the attention of a free and industrious people; their success was rapid and extensive; Antwerp became the emporium of the northern nations; and rivalled even Venice in the magnitude of its commercial concerns; Bruges was scarcely inferior to Antwerp; while the tapestry of Arras was admired for its beauty; and the woollens of Ghent universally sought after for their excellence; the wealth which flows from labour and ingenuity had not produced yet its usual concomitants; the Flemings were by nature frugal and indefatigable; with the acquisition the thirst of riches increased; and amidst their opulence they retained their primitive simplicity.

The death of Charles the bold, which extinguished the male line of the house of Burgundy, and the marriage of his daughter Mary with Maximilian, the King of the Romans, made little difference in the situation of the Flemings; the alliance of Charles the Fifth, the grandson of Maximilian, was attended with more essential consequences; the will of the sovereign of Spain and Germany was not to be opposed with impunity; that prince frequently introduced foreign troops into the Low Countries; he punished the revolt of the city of Ghent with exemplary rigour; and it is asserted, that he once hesitated whether he should not establish in those provinces the same despotic government

ment as had long subsisted in his Spanish and Italian dominions. But Flanders was the seat of his nativity ; he had there passed the pleasantest part of his younger days ; he loved the people, and was fond of their manners ; from taste, and early attachment, he kept them always about his person, and bestowed on them the most important offices ; they acknowledged, on the other hand, their grateful sense of this preference by an ardent zeal for his glory and advantage ; they considered themselves as participating in the illustrious actions of a prince who was born amongst them ; and the same prejudice was reciprocally the source of affection in the sovereign and of gratitude in the people.

With different emotions they beheld the sceptre pass from Charles to the hand of his son. The haughty reserve of Philip was as disgustful to the Flemings as it was congenial to the Spaniards ; they suspected his bigoted veneration for the church of Rome ; the extensive correspondence which the merchants of the Netherlands maintained, had early brought them acquainted with the doctrines of Luther ; the new opinions of religion were readily embraced by men long accustomed to judge for themselves, and who, nurtured in civil freedom, could not but feel some repugnance to religious slavery ; their rapid growth had even excited the jealousy of Charles, he had laboured to check it by several severe edicts ; but when he found the
Protestants

Protestants, instead of yielding to his menaces, prepared to transport their families and effects to other kingdoms, his prudence restrained his zeal; as a man he felt for the calamities of the people; as a sovereign he dreaded the consequences of depopulating a country, from which he had often received the most effectual support and assistance.

But such considerations had little effect on Philip, who scarce had received the reins of government, before he re-published the obnoxious edicts, and established, for the extirpation of heresy, a tribunal, which, though it was not distinguished by the invidious name of the Inquisition, was armed with all the powers of that oppressive institution. The discontent of the Flemings at these measures was augmented by the number of Spanish troops which still were retained in Flanders; the insolence and rapacity of these were considered at this critical juncture as peculiarly aggravating; and such was the resentment of the people of Zealand, that they actually refused to work at their dykes, exclaiming, that they chose rather to be swallowed up by the ocean, than to become a prey to the cruelty and avarice of these foreign tyrants.

Their murmurs had been openly preferred to the Throne, when Philip prepared to leave for ever the Low Countries, and had devolved the administration of them on Margaret, Duchess of Parma, and natural daughter to the late Emperor;

ror; though the answer of the States to his address contained the warmest sentiments of affection and loyalty, yet several of the deputies, unawed by the presence of their sovereign, represented the apprehensions that were entertained from the new courts that had been instituted for the suppression of heresy, and from the continuance of the Spanish troops in the Netherlands; they were listened to in sullen silence; the inflexible spirit of Philip disdained all conciliating counsels; and when one of his ministers ventured to insinuate that a perseverance in rigour might alienate the affections, and be finally attended with the loss of the provinces, the answer of the royal bigot, "that he would rather not reign, than reign over heretics," sufficiently revealed his intolerant disposition.

The departure of Philip was rather the source of exultation than of regret to his Flemish subjects; but it occasioned little alteration in the rigorous system he had recommended; the Duchess of Parma, naturally humane, was, on various occasions, inclined to more moderate measures; but though she possessed the name of regent, the power was lodged in the hands of Granvelle, who joined to the emoluments of Archbishop of Mechlin, the holy dignity of Cardinal. Attached by gratitude and interest to Philip and the see of Rome, he was the willing minister of all counsels that were hostile

to

to civil and religious freedom ; he was by nature insensible to pity ; and from habit had long divested himself of sincerity ; he gloried in the abuse of those artifices which little minds consider as the chief endowments of a consummate politician ; nor was his pride less offensive than his duplicity ; but he was indefatigable in business, undaunted in danger ; and while his enemies arraigned the fatal tendency of his plans, they reluctantly praised the vigour and address with which he executed them.

But the seeds of religious reform had struck root too deep to be eradicated by the hand of Granvelle ; though the sanguinary edicts of Philip were enforced with impartial severity ; though no greater regard was shewn to the laws of nature and humanity, than to the constitution of the provinces, yet that prelate had the mortification to behold every day the spirit of schism spread wider and wider ; his arrogance combined with his bigotry to render him the object of universal detestation ; though he might have despised the murmurs of the multitude, he sunk beneath the confederacy of their chiefs ; and the union of the Prince of Orange with the Counts of Egmont and Horn were fatal to his power.

William Prince of Orange was the representative of the ancient and illustrious family of Nassau in Germany. From his ancestors, one of whom had been Emperor, he had inherited several rich pos-

sessions in the Netherlands, and by the will of René de Nassau and Chalons, his cousin German, he had succeeded to the principality of Orange, on the frontiers of Dauphiné; his extraordinary talents had been early distinguished, and had preferred him to the favour and confidence of the late Emperor; during the absence of the Duke of Savoy, when only in his twenty-second year, he had been intrusted with the command of a considerable army; and though opposed to the Admiral de Coligny, one of the ablest Generals of the age, he had not only preserved his honour unfulled, but by fortifying Charlemont and Philippeville, had prevented the French from penetrating into the Netherlands. It was on the arm of William that Charles supported himself in the august assembly in which he resigned his dominions; and a further mark of esteem was conferred by the latter in the choice of the former to bear the Imperial crown to his brother Ferdinand; but these public proofs of attachment had excited the jealousy of Granvelle, and the Spanish ministers; they had early endeavoured to instil doubts in the mind of Philip; and the disposition of that monarch, ever prone to jealousy, was too favourably inclined to receive these impressions, when the Prince of Orange himself gave countenance to them by opposing the system of persecution, which was so grateful to his sovereign, and by declining the command of the Spanish troops,

troops, which, contrary to the fundamental laws of those provinces, were to be continued in the Low Countries. From this moment all royal confidence was withdrawn from William, and though he was nominated Governor of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht, he found himself a cypher in the council of the state, to which he was seldom summoned, or when summoned, was only as a witness of the influence and arrogance of Granvelle.

The extraction of Count Egmont was scarce less illustrious than that of the Prince of Orange; and in a country where some respect was still retained for the memory of their ancient princes, his descent from the Dukes of Guelderland, to a jealous sovereign might be the source of secret distrust. His splendid services in the victories of St. Quentin and Gravelines ought to have established him in the favour of Philip. Yet gratitude was not the virtue of that monarch; and instead of the regency, to which he had aspired, Count Egmont found with indignation his recompense limited to the Governments of Artois and Flanders.

Though the public achievements of Count Horn had not been equally glorious, yet his private virtues were universally acknowledged; he was animated with the same resentment as the Prince of Orange and Count Egmont against the overbearing disposition of Granvelle; and he readily united with them in a strenuous opposition to the intole-

rant system of the Cardinal. Though scarce ever consulted, yet as Lords of the Council they could not be prevented from preferring their complaints; and after having urged them in vain to the regent, they determined to lay them at the foot of the throne. The general odium which the violence and cruelty of Granvelle had excited, afforded them a proper opportunity; in a letter to the King, they attributed the discontents which were already diffused through the Low Countries to the imperious conduct of the Cardinal; it was impossible, they said, for them to serve either the King or the people, while a person so extremely obnoxious possessed such unlimited influence; but they doubted not the government would proceed without difficulty if that prelate was removed; and in case the King granted their request, nothing should be wanting on their part either to support his authority, or to maintain the purity of the Catholic faith, to which they were not less sincerely attached than the Cardinal himself.

The answer of Philip, that it was not his practice to dismiss his ministers upon the complaints of their enemies, till he had given them an opportunity to vindicate their conduct, but that the accusers of Granvelle, if they chose to present themselves at Madrid, should be received and listened to with attention, was far from satisfying the discontented nobles. They had the boldness to reply

ply, that they did not esteem the Cardinal so highly as to undertake a journey to Spain on his account ; and that since the King was pleased to repose so little confidence in their opinion, they hoped he would dispense with their further attendance in council ; where, as they could not be present without a diminution of their dignity, it was impossible for them, while Granvelle retained his influence, to render their sovereign the smallest service.

Though Philip, by nature inflexible, and generally confirmed in his designs by opposition, had received this last remonstrance in silence, yet Granvelle himself yielded to the storm ; while his interest induced him to concur with the inclinations of his sovereign, his experience had probably convinced him of the inefficacy of rigorous measures ; he might not be sorry to withdraw from the tempest which his breath had excited ; and he solicited, and he obtained from Philip, his recall.

His departure was far from restoring tranquillity ; his influence was transferred to Viglius and Count Barlaimont, two zealous Catholics, who had been active in enforcing those sanguinary counsels which had disgraced the administration of the Cardinal ; the Protestants still groaned beneath the scourge of persecution ; and the Prince of Orange and his confederates had the mortification of beholding they had removed an enemy, without succeeding to his authority, or even getting rid of his

invidious system ; they still, however, continued their remonstrances, and urged them with such perseverance, as at length alarmed the Regent.— She judged it expedient to send one of the principal nobility to Spain to inform the king of the state of the provinces ; she made choice of the Count of Egmont as her ambassador, and she employed Viglius the president to give him her instructions in the presence of the other counsellors. These were expressed in terms far from satisfactory to the Prince of Orange. “ The relation,” said he, “ which has been made of our calamities, falls “ infinitely short of the truth ; we must lay open “ to the bottom the wounds under which the “ country bleeds, else the king can never apply “ the proper remedies ; let us not by our representations induce him to hope the number of “ heretics smaller than it is ; let us acquaint him “ that every province, every town, every village, “ is full of them. Let us not conceal from him “ how much they despise his edicts, and how little “ they respect his magistrates.” He added, that although he was a true Catholic, and a faithful subject to the king, yet he thought the dissensions which had lately afflicted France and Germany, afforded a sufficient proof that the consciences of some men were not to be awed, and that heresy was not to be extirpated by fire and sword, but by reasoning and persuasion ; to which it was in vain to expect

pect that the reformed would be brought to listen, while they were daily butchered like beasts. However deeply Margaret might be affected by the arguments of the Prince of Orange, she was not at liberty to prefer them to those of Viglius; and it was with the instructions that had been proposed by the latter, that the Count of Egmont was dispatched to Spain.

The reception of that nobleman at Madrid was of the most flattering nature; during his stay, Philip treated him with the most marked attention; and when he prepared to return, the King not only made him a present of fifty thousand florins, but as the circumstances of the Count were far from answerable to the expectations of his numerous family, he promised to provide for his daughters in marriage suitable to the rank of their father. To these personal favours were added expressions, in regard to his embassy, which though by no means clear and explicit, were far from inauspicious. When Philip mentioned the obnoxious edicts, it was in terms of doubt, and almost disapprobation; when he spoke of his Flemish subjects, it was with invariable professions of regard and affection. The Count, who believed him candid and sincere, on his return to the Low Countries extolled his goodness, and answered for the rectitude of his intentions; but the Prince of Orange was not thus easily deluded; he still re-

tained his suspicions ; and these were soon after strengthened by a new incident : under pretence of visiting her brother the King of France, the Queen of Spain, attended by the Duke of Alva, had proceeded to Bayonne ; the interview lasted above three weeks ; but while the hours of it seemed devoted to festivity and dissipation, they were diligently employed in private and frequent conferences with the Duke of Alva for the extirpation of the reformed ; nor were these conducted with such secrecy, but that they reached the ears, and awakened the jealousies of the Protestants.

Had any doubt yet remained of the insincerity of Philip, it was soon removed by his subsequent conduct ; instead of repealing the edicts which he had formerly issued, he commanded them to be enforced with greater rigour ; even Viglius for a moment confessed symptoms of remorse at being the minister of such incessant cruelty ; but an interested bigot was not long restrained by pity ; he returned with ardour to the toil of persecution ; and thousands of the Protestants were the victims to his vigilant and indefatigable zeal.

The Prince of Orange, with the Counts of Horn and Egmont, were not the silent spectators of the sufferings of their countrymen. But that prudence or loyalty which confined their mediation to remonstrances, was despised by Philip de Marnix, Lord of St. Aldegonde, a nobleman highly distinguished

guished for his eloquence and address ; by his advice and direction, a writing was drawn up, which, from the nature of it, obtained the name of the *compromise*, and which strongly marks the spirit which animated the people of the Netherlands.

It stated that the misrepresentations of the ambitious and interested having persuaded the king, contrary to the established law of the Low Countries, to introduce into those provinces the pernicious tribunal of the inquisition, which exposed the best of men to the malice or avarice of a priest, a Spaniard, or minion of power, and frequently occasioned their execution, without their being allowed the means of justification ; those whose names were subscribed, to provide for the security of their families, goods, and persons, had entered into a sacred league, and confirmed it by a solemn oath, to oppose with all their might the boundless pretensions of that illegal court ; to mutually defend each other against any attack that should be made on any individual for having acceded to the present confederacy ; and not to suffer the pretence of rebellion, if urged by their persecutors, to exempt them from the holy obligation they had entered into. At the same time, they declared that it was far from their design to attempt any thing prejudicial to the interest of their sovereign ; but on the contrary, that it was their firm resolution to support and defend his government ;

vernments, to maintain peace, and to prevent, as far as they were able, all seditions, tumults, and revolts. The latter clause served to allure the acquiescence of those whose minds were not yet sufficiently inflamed to renounce their allegiance ; and so happy were the effects of it, and so general the approbation of the compromise, that among the thousands of Flemings who in every province pressed forwards to subscribe it, the names of several of the most illustrious of the Catholics are to be distinguished.

While the regent and her counsellors, in silent astonishment, beheld the rapid progress of this association, a new circumstance aroused them to a more lively sense of their danger, and to a more clear view of the strength and boldness of those who had subscribed it.

A. D. 1556. To fulfil their engagements, the confederates demanded permission to state their sentiments in person to the regent ; they entered Brussels in number between three and four hundred ; all of them noblemen of considerable influence in the provinces ; the Count of Brederode, who was descended from the ancient Earls of Holland, the Counts of Colenberg and Trefenberg, the Marquis of Mons, the Baron of Montigny, and the Count Lewis of Nassau, the brother of the Prince of Orange, were amongst the most distinguished ; they proceeded in order to the palace, renewed
their

their professions of loyalty, but stated their apprehensions that if the same rigorous measures which had hitherto been adopted, were pursued, an open revolt would be the immediate consequence. They expressed their wishes that proper persons might be dispatched to Madrid, to acquaint the King with the necessity of departing, in some measure, from the ancient system of coercion; and their hopes that the regent would suspend the execution of the obnoxious edicts until the royal pleasure could be known; and they concluded in these memorable words: “But if no regard shall be paid
“to this our humble and most earnest prayer, we
“call God, the King, your Highness, and these
“illustrious counsellors to witness, that we have
“given warning of the impending danger, and
“are not accountable for the calamities that may
“ensue.”

So bold an appeal extorted some appearance of concession from the regent; she declared herself by no means averse to sending proper persons to Spain, where she would willingly employ her mediation in their behalf; she ordered instructions to be transmitted to the inquisitors to proceed in future against the reformed with more moderation, and to punish only such as were convicted of sedition; and the confederates, satisfied with these proofs of her sincerity, engaged, on their side, not to attempt any innovation on the established religion,
but

but to await patiently the determination of the Assembly of the States, which they fondly flattered themselves would soon be summoned, and would effectually, by the prudence of their resolutions, extinguish all discontent.

Agreeable to her promise, the regent immediately commissioned the Marquis of Mons, and the Baron de Montigny, to lay before the King the petition of the confederates; but the minds of the reformed had been too long agitated to bear the interval of suspense; their clamours demanded immediate redress; and after assembling in arms to attend and vindicate their own mode of worship, they, in an unfortunate moment of religious fury, precipitated themselves on the churches of the Catholics; the altars of the latter were rudely overturned; their cathedrals despoiled of the most costly ornaments; and the priests themselves were with difficulty rescued from their licentious fury.

These excesses of the Protestants filled the Prince of Orange, and the Counts of Egmont and Horn, with the deepest concern; they conceived their own fidelity impeached by the outrages of the multitude; and in redressing them, resolved to exert themselves with vigour and promptitude. Their labours were successful; by their influence several of the rioters were given up, and punished with death; the silver vessels of communion were recovered and replaced; and the tranquillity of the

Catholic church was restored, and its pre-eminence asserted.

Such services, at such a critical juncture, ought to have effaced from the mind of Philip every unworthy suspicion which he had entertained of those noblemen. But it is dangerous to promote, with too much success, the interests of a jealous tyrant ; and it was insinuated that the same breath which had extinguished, might re-kindle, the flames of revolt. The objections which those lords had urged against the continuance of the Spanish forces in the Low Countries, the necessity to which they had reduced him of removing Granvelle, their frequent remonstrances against the inquisition and edicts, and the attachment which they had shewn to the liberty and constitutional privileges of the provinces, had alienated Philip entirely from them, and had implanted in his dark and revengeful mind, a degree of hatred and resentment, which neither time, nor the most unqualified proofs of loyalty, could eradicate ; he was incapable of dissembling the vengeance he meditated ; the correspondence of the Marquis of Mons, and the Baron de Montigny, were filled with menacing expressions which had escaped him ; and in a letter from his favourite, the Duke of Alva, to the regent, the former had declared that the King was well informed that the Prince of Orange, with the Counts of Horn and Egmont, were the fomentors

of

of all the disturbances that had happened, and that he had sworn to punish them, and the other inhabitants of the Netherlands, in the most exemplary manner.

A. D. 1567. This letter, which had fallen into the hands of the Prince of Orange, he communicated to the Counts Horn and Egmont; and advised them to prepare against the storm that threatened them. But the last of those noblemen was still impressed with the favours he had received, and the professions he had been amused with at Madrid; nor would he believe that Philip would openly violate his faith, or engage in any new design hostile to the established constitution of the country. His obstinacy disappointed the hopes of the other Lords, and left them no other resource, but the vain attempt to disarm the resentment of their sovereign, by an active concurrence in all his measures.

It soon appeared that those measures aimed at nothing short of establishing a despotic government throughout the Netherlands. A large sum of money was remitted from Spain; and orders were sent to the regent to levy among the Catholics a considerable body of troops; five regiments of infantry, besides a numerous corps of cavalry, were accordingly raised; and were intrusted to the command of officers most remarkable for their zeal for the ancient religion, and their subservience to the will of the court.

These troops were not suffered to remain long inactive; in the late disturbances the city of Valenciennes had been too distinguished for its enmity against the Catholics, to be entitled to a sincere pardon. The strength of its walls, its vicinity to France, and the correspondence which its citizens held with the Protestants of that kingdom, rendered the regent anxious to secure its future obedience, by establishing a garrison in the citadel. The inhabitants, however, refused to rivet their own chains by tamely consenting; and Margaret, by the advice of her council, to punish their presumption, declared them rebels, and ordered the Lord of Noirchames, with a formidable body of the new-raised troops, to invest the town. The sound of the cannon dissipated the enthusiastic ardour of the citizens; they opened their gates; and their temerity was chastised not only by the death of several who had been most active in their resistance, but by the rigid proscription in future of the exercise of the Protestant faith.

Tournay, and even Antwerp, were awed by the fate of Valenciennes; they bowed their necks to the yoke; and an armed force, admitted into their respective citadels, oppressed the religious and civil liberties of the inhabitants. The confederates, before whom the regent had so lately trembled, were now taught in their turn to dread the effects of her power. They did not, however, despair;
and

and Count Brederode, with the confederates, recapitulated in a second petition the grievances of the provinces. They were instructed, by the conduct of Margaret, that the favourable moment had elapsed; she refused to see them; and the only answer she deigned to return to the Count was, that he, and those who had concurred with him, had wrested her concessions into a sense she never meant, and by encouraging riot and tumults, had broken their agreement with her, and forfeited all claims to her regard.

Convinced that nothing was any longer to be expected from the justice or compassion of his sovereign, it was by arms that Brederode aspired to deliver his bleeding country; Holland still revered a chief, who boasted amongst his ancestors her ancient earls; the Protestants readily obeyed the summons of a leader whose cause was their own; with a band of armed followers, he occupied the town of Vianen on the banks of the Leck; but the approach of the Counts Aremberg and Megen, with a superior force, compelled him to retire into Germany, and his death, in about a twelvemonth after, delivered him from beholding those miseries which impended over his religion and country.

The retreat of Count Brederode seemed to extinguish the hopes of the reformed; the storm which had raged with so much fury was succeeded by a perfect calm; the churches were repaired, the al-

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tars restored, the images replaced, and the Catholic magistrates respected, in the same manner as before the disturbances. While the discontented lords seemed now to have no other ambition than to surpass one another in giving proofs of their attachment to the regent, and of their zeal in the service of the church and the King.

Chapter the Twentieth

Appointment of Alva to the Command in the Netherlands—Retreat of the Prince of Orange—Counts Horn and Egmont arrested—Resignation of the Dukes of Parma—Tragical end of Don Carlos—Severity of Alva—Expedition of the Prince of Orange—Execution of the Counts Horn and Egmont—Defeat of Count Lewis—Retreat of the Prince of Orange—Revolt of the Morescoes—New Taxes imposed by Alva—General Discontent of the Flemings—Surprize of the Brille by the Exiles—Revolt of Zealand—War with the Turks—Battle of Lepanto—Conduct of Alva—Of the Court of France—Mons is surprized by Count Lewis—Is besieged by Alva—The Prince of Orange marches to the relief of it—Receives the Intelligence of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew—Endeavours in vain to relieve Mons—Retires into Holland—Mons Capitulates—Massacres of Naerden and Zutphen—Sieges of Haerlem and Alcmæer—Defeat of the Spaniards at Sea—The Duke of Alva Resigns the Government and quits the Netherlands.

A. D. 1567. **C**OULD the King of Spain have been satisfied with the future obedience of the Netherlands, the prudence and vigour of the Dukes of Parma had already laid the foundation of their tranquillity

tranquillity and submission ; but in the dark and bigoted bosom of Philip, the thirst of holy vengeance was more predominant than that of power ; and it was alone by the blood of the offenders that he conceived the honour of the Catholic religion and the crown could be vindicated from the insolence of the Protestant insurgents.

Stern and implacable, the Duke of Alva presented himself as a proper minister to the cruel and inflexible spirit of his sovereign ; with a considerable army of Spaniards, of Germans, and Italians, he was directed to march into the Low Countries.—His appointment, and the well-known rigour of his disposition, spread terror and dismay through those provinces ; the menaces of Philip still sounded in the ears of the Prince of Orange ; he resolved to retire from the impending storm into Germany ; and he endeavoured to prevail on the Count of Egmont to accompany him ; but the latter was the father of a numerous family, which he could not support with dignity in any other country ; conscious too of his fidelity, and the important services he had rendered his sovereign, he could not be persuaded to think Philip insincere in the professions of friendship which he had made him in Spain ; nor could he believe that he would indulge his resentment any farther than to punish those who had been concerned in the late disorders ; the prince finding him deaf to his remonstrances, left him

him with these memorable words, “ you are the
“ bridge, Count Egmont, by which the Duke of
“ Alva will pass into the Netherlands, and he will
“ no sooner pass it than he will break it down ; you
“ will repent of despising the warning which I have
“ given you, but I fear that your repentance will
“ be too late.”

The retreat of the Prince of Orange was soon followed by the triumphant entry of the Duke of Alva into Brussels ; the extraordinary powers with which he was armed, independent of the regent, he suffered not to slumber ; and the Counts Egmont and Horn were the first victims of them. As the deed itself was tyrannical, the manner of it was insidious ; under pretence of consulting them, they were allured to the palace ; and were arrested in the moment of confidence ; in vain they both urged that, as Knights of the Golden Fleece, they could be judged or imprisoned only by their peers ; no regard was paid to their remonstrances ; and, contrary to the fundamental laws of the Low Countries, they were conducted from the province they resided in as prisoners to the castle of Ghent.

The Duchess of Parma was the reluctant spectator of measures which her gentle nature allowed her not to sanction ; she felt also for her own authority as regent in the extraordinary commission which had been granted to Alva ; the Counts of Horn and Egmont had been arrested by the sole
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orders of that nobleman, without her concurrence; and she determined to withdraw from a station in which her feelings and dignity had been equally wounded; after repeated solicitations, she obtained the consent of Philip to resign the regency; and her departure left the Duke of Alva to pursue his own sanguinary system, without the appearance of controul.

A. D. 1568. While the Spaniards awaited in silence the effects of those discontents which were rapidly spreading through the Netherlands, their own court was not destitute of sufficient evidence of the dark and rigorous spirit of their sovereign; the family of Philip was condemned to share in the sufferings of his subjects, Don Carlos, his eldest son by his first consort, the Princess Mary of Portugal, was distinguished only by the weakness of his capacity, by the violence of his passions, and by his impatience of that power which he would probably have abused; he was suspected of a secret and treasonable correspondence with the Marquis of Mons and the Baron de Montigny; and a design was attributed to him of retiring into the Netherlands, to put himself at the head of the male contents. The rash projects of a wayward youth could not have affected the throne, and ought rather to have excited the pity than the resentment of his royal father. But the bosom of Philip was a stranger to the tender emotions of a parent; he con-

dered only the authority of a sovereign; in his presence Don Carlos was arrested, deprived of every mark of dignity, and closely confined to his chamber; a dark sentence, which was dictated by Philip, and which issued from the inquisition, pronounced his guilt and his death. A veil has been thrown over his last moments; and it is doubtful whether his own rage was fatal to his life; or whether he expired by the poison that was administered, at the command of his inexorable father.

In the Netherlands, however, the voice of the multitude did not fail to impeach the tyrant, “and what mercy,” exclaimed they, “can we expect from him who has not spared his own blood.”—They beheld the unfeeling Alva zealous to satiate the vindictive fury of his master. A severe inquisition had already been instituted against those who, in defence of their native rights, had presumed to resist the royal will; numbers of every age, sex, and condition, daily perished by the hand of the executioner; numbers, by the arbitrary decisions of their repacious judges, were deprived of their all, and reduced to beggary; and so active was the persecution of Alva, that in the first year of his administration, above one hundred thousand persons abandoned their habitations, and fled into foreign countries; thither they transferred their knowledge of arts and manufactures; and their emigration, while it impoverished the dominions
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of Philip, gave fresh life and vigour to those of his enemies.

A general cry of indignation had been heard throughout the provinces ; nor was their countryman the Prince of Orange inattentive to their sufferings and lamentations ; he himself had been deeply injured ; by a timely flight he had eluded the snares of Alva ; but his estates had been confiscated ; he had been cited to appear as a criminal ; and his eldest son, the Count of Buren, who was pursuing his studies at the university of Louvain, had been violently seized, and sent prisoner to Madrid. His own wrongs conspired with those of his country ; the Lutheran Princes of Germany listened with compassion to the miseries of their brethren ; by the connivance of the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Wirtemberg, and the Landgrave of Hesse, the prince was enabled to levy a considerable body of troops ; and he depended on more effectual assistance from the Flemish exiles, who had ranged themselves under the banner of his brother Count Lewis of Nassau.

The prudence of the Prince of Orange would have delayed the moment of enterprise until the ambition of Philip had involved him in foreign war ; but the impatience of the exiles was not to be restrained ; and about the beginning of May Count Lewis, accompanied by his brother Adolphus of Nassau, entered the Netherlands, and pitched his

camp in the neighbourhood of Groningen; the intelligence of his approach was speedily conveyed to Alva; and convinced him that the spirits of the Flemings were yet unbroken; in every exigency his vigour was however confessed; and he instantly ordered the Count of Aremberg, with a detachment of Spanish troops, to observe the motions, and oppose the progress of the insurgents. That general found his adversary posted on an eminence, with a wide and deep morass in his front; under such circumstances his own judgment would have deterred him from hazarding an attack, until the arrival of the reinforcements that he expected; but he yielded to the arrogance and ferocity of his followers, who considered every delay as an imputation on their courage; with loud clamours they demanded the signal for battle; and no sooner was it given, than they plunged into the bog before them; their presumption was severely reprov'd; they were exposed, without the means of resistance, to the fire of the enemy; and while they struggled with the difficulties of their situation, they were charged by Count Lewis, at the head of his cavalry; six hundred Spaniards fell the victims of their own temerity; and Count Aremberg, who scorned to survive a defeat, into which he had been precipitated by the insolence of his soldiers, rushed against Count Adolphus of Nassau, and at the same

moment inflicted and received the death that he courted.

Defeat served only to inflame the haughty spirit of Alva; he determined that those who were yet within his power should atone for the disastrous field of Groningen. The Counts of Horn and Egmont were drawn from the prisons of Ghent; and the form of a trial, which was intended to disguise, served to reveal, the malice of their oppressor.— They were accused of having attempted, in concert with the Prince of Orange, to abolish the royal authority in the Netherlands; and their defence clearly proved that they had not only successfully protected the privileges of the crown, but had incessantly laboured to suppress heresy, and to promote the influence of the established church; at the same time, they reclaimed their own rights, and as Knights of the Golden Fleece, appealed to the judgment of their peers; but they pleaded before a tribunal which knew no other justice than the will of Alva; the obsequious sentence of the court which condemned them to death was confirmed by Philip; in vain did the Countess of Egmont prostrate herself before her unfeeling sovereign, and remind him of the victories of St. Quentin and Gravelines, which had been achieved by the valour of her unhappy consort; the heart of Philip was impenetrable to her sorrows; even the intercessions of the Duchess of Parma, and the Em-
peror

peror Maximilian were disregarded ; and at Brussels the Counts of Horn and Egmont were led to execution ; they met their fate with a constancy worthy of their former lives ; but the indignation of the multitude was not to be awed by the guards that surrounded them ; many rushed to the scaffold, dipped their handkerchiefs in their blood, and as they displayed them to their countrymen, vowed that the tyrant and his satellites should be forced to repent the cruel murder they had committed.

The menaces of the populace might have been despised by Alva ; but the operations of the Prince of Orange and Count Lewis demanded his utmost exertions and attention ; after a victory, which was embittered by the loss of a brother, the latter found his army swelled to near thirteen thousand men ; when he was informed that the Duke of Alva was rapidly marching to engage him, at the head of twelve thousand veteran infantry, and three thousand cavalry. In open field, he could not hope to sustain, with his new-raised levies, the shock of so formidable a corps, composed of soldiers long accustomed to victory ; but he flattered himself, by laying the country under water, he might near the town Gemminger await the moment when the Prince of Orange would enter on action, and compel his adversary to divide his force ; this prudent plan of defence was disappointed by the activity of Alva, and by the intractable disposition of

the German troops ; before the Flemings could level the banks of the Emo, the former appeared in fight, and the latter seized the opportunity, when their assistance was most necessary, to demand the payment of their arrears ; while Lewis endeavoured to reclaim them to their duty, the Spaniards had passed the defiles which guarded his camp ; he found himself in the same instant attacked in front and rear ; a mutinous army could oppose but little resistance ; the Germans, whose avarice had been the cause of the disaster, were the first to fly ; the exiles maintained a longer struggle, but they were oppressed by numbers ; and Count Lewis, after performing the different duties of a general and a soldier, and after beholding the slaughter of near one half of his troops, escaped with difficulty in a small boat to the opposite banks of the Emo.

It was not in a field of battle that Alva could satiate his thirst for blood ; as he marched with his victorious forces through the prostrate cities of Groningen, Utrecht, and Amsterdam, the wretched inhabitants who had embraced the Protestant religion were the objects of his unwearied persecution ; from a duty so congenial to his disposition, he was summoned to more arduous cares. From Treves, where he had assembled his partizans, the Prince of Orange had directed his march to the frontiers of Guelderland ; “ I come,” said he, in his manifesto, in which he abjured the Romish faith

faith for that of the reformed, “ to deliver my
“ countrymen from slavery and ruin.” But the
hopes that he might cherish of achieving so glori-
ous an enterprise, were clouded by the intelligence
of the death of one brother, and the defeat of an-
other ; yet undaunted by their fate, he boldly ad-
vanced ; the broad stream of the Rhine opposed a
feeble obstacle to his ardour ; and he continued his
course, without encountering an enemy, to the
banks of the Maese. On the opposite side, he be-
held the camp of the Duke of Alva, who had press-
ed forwards to check his career. Each army con-
sisted of nearly twenty thousand men ; but the
troops of the prince were newly levied, and unac-
customed to action, while those of the duke were
the choicest veterans of Spain, and inflamed by
their recent victory. Yet with every advantage,
the latter in vain endeavoured to guard the passage
of the Maese ; the former eluded his vigilance ; and
Alva heard, with astonishment, that the prince had
forded the river at a place which was deemed im-
practicable ; had the exiles listened to the exhorta-
tion of their chief, and attacked the Spaniards,
while yet labouring under the effects of surprise,
they might have torn from their brows the wreath
which had been acquired at Groningen ; but the
stubborn temper of the Germans was again fatal to
the general cause ; they refused to proceed until
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the next day ; and the short interval allowed their adversaries to recover from their consternation.

The Duke of Alva, on his side, continued to act with the greatest caution ; sensible of the exhausted state of the prince's finances, he refused to stake on a decisive battle the authority of his sovereign ; and contented himself with watching the motions, or harassing the rear of his antagonist ; he had soon reason to applaud his prudence and penetration ; the mercenaries in the Protestant army began to murmur for want of pay ; the principal cities, strong in their garrisons and fortifications, derided their attempts ; and nothing remained to the prince but to conduct back in safety, and to disband his followers. This, though constantly followed by the Spaniards, he performed with success ; on the frontiers of Germany he dismissed his troops ; and though disappointed in the expectations he had fondly nourished of immediately delivering the Netherlands from the Spanish yoke, he found some compensation from the applause which even his enemies bestowed on his vigour and sagacity.

The tempest of religious persecution, which was destined for successive years to agitate the Netherlands, was felt also in Spain ; since the reign of Ferdinand, the Moorish inhabitants of Granada had cultivated the faith of their ancestors in silence and tranquillity. But the desolating spirit
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of the inquisition, which had been chained by the policy of Charles, was let loose under the accession of Philip; the dungeons of Granada were crowded with the unhappy Morescoes; and that wretched race embraced revolt as their last but desperate resource; they chose as their sovereign Don Ferdinand de Valor, a noble youth, who boasted the blood of their ancient kings, and who assumed the more popular name of Aban Humaya; in the mountains of Alpuxara they maintained a sharp and desultory war against the Marquis of Mondegar, the Captain General of the Province. But the discipline of the Spaniards triumphed over their tumultuous valour; their secret recesses were explored, and their destruction appeared certain, when they endeavoured to avert it, by resuming the language of submission; the Marquis received their deputies favourably; and in his representations advised Philip to treat them with lenity; but such counsel ill accorded with the disposition of that monarch; and a royal mandate was dispatched, commanding all the prisoners, above eleven years of age, without distinction of sex or condition, to be sold for slaves.

Hopeless as was the situation of the Morescoes, the inhuman treatment of their brethren banished from their minds their own danger, and inflamed them with fury almost to madness. They rose in thousands; while the Spanish soldiers, discontented

ed for want of pay, instead of uniting, in obedience to the commands of their chief, abandoned their standards, and roaming over the fertile plains of Granada, vied in their ravages with the insurgents. The Court of Madrid received with terror the intelligence of a province in revolt, and an army in mutiny ; those misfortunes, which ought to have been attributed to the ministers of Philip, were transferred to his general ; and it was resolved to replace the Marquis of Mondegar with a new commander.

Amidst the toils of empire, Charles the Fifth had not been insensible to the allurements of the fair. On the accession of Philip, a young gentleman was drawn from the privacy in which he had been educated, and under the distinction of Don John of Austria, was acknowledged as the brother of the King ; he was reported to have been the son of a German lady, of the name of Blomberg ; but scandal has not hesitated to assign him a more guilty and more illustrious extraction, and to attribute his birth to an incestuous commerce between Charles and his own sister the Queen of Hungary. When the indignation of the Moreſcoes urged them to resume their arms, he had just entered into his twenty-second year, and a graceful person was animated by a spirit ardent to distinguish itself in the pursuit of martial glory ; to his royal kinsman Philip resolved to give the nominal command of
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the army that was to act against the Morescoes ; but to supply his want of experience, he also appointed a military council to accompany him, without whose approbation Don John was not to undertake any enterprize.

As long as the war was conducted by the influence of the council, the operations of it were languid and ineffectual ; and the ill success of it induced Philip at length to listen to the remonstrances of his brother, who intreated him to remove those fetters which he had imposed on his genius. No sooner was Don John delivered from restraint, than his martial talents burst forth with lustre ; he led in person a gallant band of veterans across the mountains of Alpuxara ; indifferent to heat or thirst, the fatigues of a summer campaign relaxed not his vigour ; his labours were facilitated by the levity and dissensions of the Morescoes. Aban Humaya was cast from his throne by the kindred hand of an assassin ; Aban-Aboo succeeded to his sceptre and his fate. Even ambition declined a crown so fatal to its possessors ; the wretched herd, without concert and without leaders, sunk again into despondence ; those who had been found in arms were punished by slavery or death ; even such as had refused to join the standard of rebellion, were not exempted from the miseries of their brethren ; a scanty remnant were suffered by avarice to prosecute in Granada the manufactures they had

had established ; but the suggestion of a narrow policy tore the rest from their native soil, and transplanted them to distant provinces, where they languished in poverty and dependence.

A. D. 1569, Though the revolt of the Morefc-
1570. coes might transiently occupy the attention of Philip, it was towards the Netherlands that his eyes were incessantly directed. The retreat of the Prince of Orange seemed to secure throughout the provinces the future ascendancy of Alva ; and he seized the moment of triumph to trample on his enemies, and to break the turbulent spirit of the natives. The inquisition again sent forth her spies, and armed her ministers of vengeance ; strong citadels were erected in several of the principal cities ; and new imposts were devised for the maintenance of the foreign troops, whose presence was to rivet the shackles of the Flemings.

But the measures of Alva defeated the ends he proposed ; the minds of the unhappy people were so impressed with awe and terror, that nothing could have inspired them with the courage they afterwards displayed, but insolence and oppression, carried to an enormous height. They had bowed beneath the yoke of religious persecution ; but when they found, to the invasion of liberty of conscience was to be joined that of property, their personal fears were overwhelmed by their resentment.

Even the assembly of the States, which had hitherto consented to act as the tools of Alva's tyranny, when they heard his intention of imposing an immediate charge of one per cent. on all goods, an annual tax of twenty per cent. on all immoveables, and of ten per cent. on all moveables, could no longer be silent; they represented that a cloud of tax gatherers would for ever overshadow the prosperity of the provinces, and extinguish commerce and manufactures, the sources of their opulence; their remonstrances were supported by Viglius, who, though zealously attached to the Catholic religion, and the sworn enemy of the reformed, was too sagacious not to discern the consequences with which the new imposts must be attended; but neither the representations of the States, nor the arguments of Viglius, could shake the inflexible Alva; and the only palliation he would admit, was the vague profession, that in collecting the taxes, they should be moderated in such a manner, that no prejudice should arise to the trade or manufactures of the Netherlands.

A. D. 1571, He accordingly issued an edict, re-
1572. quiring all the inhabitants of the Low Countries to make immediate payment of the tenth and twentieth, as well as the hundredth penny; but in some measure to observe his promise, an immunity from the tenth penny was granted to foreign merchants on the first sale of goods imported;

ported ; and they were permitted to export them again, free of duty, provided the goods had not been transferred from one person to another during their continuance in the country. The same immunity was likewise extended to the first sale of cattle, corn, and fruits, the produce of the Netherlands.

This indulgence was far from reconciling the people to the burdens that had been imposed on them ; almost a total stagnation of trade ensued ; and in many parts even agriculture was neglected ; the numbers of the exiles were rapidly increased ; and they endeavoured to extort from the sea that subsistence which they were no longer allowed to derive from the land. In small vessels they roamed along the Channel, seized the ships which were under the pavillion of Spain, and sold their prizes in the harbours of England. When the policy of Elizabeth, who was not yet prepared to hazard an open rupture with Spain, deprived them of this refuge, their despair prompted them to a more glorious and more dangerous enterprize ; they had maintained a constant correspondence with the inhabitants of Voorn, a small island seated at the mouth of the Meuse, and only thirteen miles from Rotterdam ; hither they suddenly steered their course, were received with transport by the natives, and erected the standard of freedom on the walls of Brille, the capital of the island.

It was with mingled astonishment and consternation that Alva received the intelligence of so unexpected an event. He had hitherto considered the exiles as a lawless race of pirates, incapable of any great exertion; he now beheld them in the possession of a place, which, on account of its situation at the mouth of a great river, and in the neighbourhood of many important cities, had always been considered as one of the chief keys of the Netherlands. He was also conscious, that he had no fleet sufficient to encounter them at sea, or to second his operations on land. He, however, soon resumed his wonted vigour; and as he was sensible that dispatch on these occasions was most essential to success, he ordered the Count de Bossut, who was Governor of Holland, to march immediately against them, before the news of their enterprise should have excited to revolt the adjacent towns.

At the head of a considerable body of regular forces, the Count de Bossut advanced against a slender band of undisciplined rovers, but whose bosoms were steeled against danger by the love of freedom, and the contempt of life; their desperate valour was guided by the Count de la Marck, a Flemish nobleman, the associate of their faith and fortunes; they were supported by the zeal of the citizens; and their situation of communication with the sea, afforded them a gleam of hope. The Spaniards
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pressed forwards to the attack with the confidence usual to troops accustomed to victory ; but while they were warmly engaged in front, the sluices had been opened in their rear ; the waters began to rise ; and it was only by a precipitate flight that they escaped from being overwhelmed.

This repulse was attended by the consequences that Alva had foreboded ; in his retreat, the Count de Bossut was refused admission into the city of Dort ; and he avenged his disappointment by the massacre of the Protestant inhabitants of Rotterdam. This instance of wanton cruelty, instead of intimidating, served only to inflame the reformed. Flushing, which from its situation at the mouth of the Scheld, was considered of the highest importance, was the first to throw off the yoke ; the example rapidly spread through Zealand ; and before the Duke of Alva could assemble a sufficient force to oppose them, the increasing numbers of the malecontents enabled them to undertake the siege of Middleburgh ; though baffled in that enterprise, and compelled to retire from the walls of Turgow, the capital of South Beveland, their success at sea compensated the disadvantages that they were exposed to on land ; one hundred and fifty sail, commanded by the Exiles, swept the channel, and intercepted the Duke of Medina-Cœli, who, with fifty ships, and two thousand veterans, had been dispatched to reinforce Alva ; after a sharp conflict,

twenty of the largest of the Spanish vessels were taken; and the Duke himself escaped with difficulty from the pursuit of the victors into the friendly harbour of Sluys.

The naval enterprizes of the Exiles were rendered more embarrassing to Philip, as he was at that juncture engaged in a contest which demanded more than the union of his whole naval power. From the disastrous siege of Malta, the Ottoman arms had been chiefly occupied in wresting Cyprus from the republic of Venice; their progress had impressed with anxiety the Christian states, whose possessions were principally extended along the coast of the Mediterranean; and the zeal and policy of Pius the Fifth induced him again to sound the trumpet of religious warfare. But that holy ardour which had been the source of so many bloody crusades, was nearly extinguished; the majority of the princes of Europe turned with indifference from the exhortations of the Roman pontiff. The Emperor Maximilian had lately concluded a truce with the Sultan, which his interest forbade him to violate; the attention of the French King, who had been long in alliance with the Porte, was engaged by the internal dissensions of his own kingdom; Sebastian of Portugal was too young, and Sigismund of Poland too much oppressed by the infirmities of age, to embark in any foreign enterprize. Philip alone listened with alacrity to the solicitations of the successor

cessor of St. Peter; ever obsequious to the wishes of the church, he was, from his possessions on the coast of Africa, the natural enemy of the Moslems; and he readily subscribed a mutual league with the Pope and the republic of Venice; by this he engaged to defray one half of the expence of the war; three fourths of the other half were to be furnished by the Venetians, while the remainder was to be supplied by the zeal of Pius.

So ardent and diligent were the confederates, that in a few weeks a fleet was assembled at Messina, consisting of upwards of two hundred and fifty ships of war, and navigated or defended by fifty thousand veteran sailors or soldiers. The command of the united force was intrusted to Don John of Austria, for whom the pompous title of Generalissimo was invented; and whose youthful valour was inflamed by the benedictions of the Roman pontiff, and the assurances, in the name of Heaven, of a complete victory.

Nor did the faithful behold in Selim a successor unworthy of the great Solyman; though a considerable part of his troops were still occupied in the reduction of Cyprus, he was far from declining the proffered contest. He called forth the resources of a wide and warlike empire, yet in its vigour; at his command, the Corsairs of Africa quitted their various ports, and ranged themselves beneath his standard; from the harbour of Constantinople,

under the conduct of the bold and experienced Hali, slowly issued forth the Moslem fleet, confiding in its faith and numbers ; it stretched towards the western coast of Greece ; and about the beginning of October, the anxious eyes of Hali descried near the Gulph of Lepanto, the hostile sails of the confederates.

The superior numbers of the Turks could not check the martial ardour of Don John. The signal for action was immediately displayed ; and a conflict, fierce, various, obstinate, and bloody, instantly ensued. The vessels of Don John and Hali were opposed to each other ; and their encounter was such as may be expected when to civil rage, and religious enmity, are added the dread of slavery, and the hope of glory ; at length Hali sunk beneath the superior fortune or prowess of his illustrious adversary ; he himself, with the greatest part of his crew, were slain ; and the cross of Christ erected, where lately waved in triumph the crescent of Mahomet, struck terror through the Turkish fleet. The Christian slaves, by whom the Turkish galleys were rowed, burst at the same moment their fetters, and increased the confusion and dismay of the Moslems ; twenty-five thousand of the latter were slaughtered, and above ten thousand made prisoners ; one hundred and thirty of the infidel fleet were captured by the victors ; the greatest part of the remainder was either sunk or destroyed ;

stroyed ; and fifteen thousand Christians, on that memorable day, delivered from captivity, diffused through Europe the renown of Don John of Austria.

Yet in their loss, the allies confessed that they had encountered an enemy who had demanded their utmost efforts ; ten thousand Christians fell in the engagement, or expired afterwards of the wounds they had received. Their deaths were not so fatal to the Christian cause, as the dissensions of the leaders ; notwithstanding the lofty title of Don John, no matter of importance could be determined without the consent of the Venetian and papal commanders ; their various opinions embarrassed every proposal ; the Turks were suffered to repair, and re-assemble their shattered squadrons ; and though in the ensuing year Don John entered in triumph the prostrate city of Tunis, and flattered himself with erecting a new and mighty empire within the limits of Africa, the visionary prospect soon vanished ; while contrary winds detained him in the harbour of Messina, Tunis was retaken by the infidels ; the Ottoman fleet asserted in the Mediterranean its wonted ascendancy ; and had not a premature death broken the projects of Selim, the invasion of Naples or Sicily would probably have avenged the defeat of Lepanto.

Philip himself had never appeared to participate in the general exultation which had attended the
success

success of his brother; he had received with coldness the messenger who had imparted the tidings of victory; the death of Pius the Fifth served to estrange him from the confederacy; and he was little inclined to waste his strength in distant enterprises, and to promote the renown of a kinsman of whose aspiring genius he was already jealous, when the revolt of his own subjects called for the full exertion of it at home. The Prince of Orange, from his retreat in Germany, had anxiously watched over, and secretly fomented, the spirit of discontent in the Netherlands; he successively learned the surprise of Brille, where the inhabitants had sworn allegiance to him as their governor; the revolt of the greatest part of Zealand, and Holland; and that his own authority was acknowledged, and that of Alva rejected, not only in Leyden, Dort, and Haerlem, but in several cities of Overyssel, Friesland, and Utrecht. He had silently collected a formidable army of well-disciplined forces; considerable sums had been transmitted to him from his partizans in the Low Countries; but no circumstances contributed more to inspire him with the hopes of success, that the new measures which had been apparently embraced by the court of France.

In a long and bloody struggle with the Hugonots, Charles the Ninth had been convinced that their spirits were not to be subdued by the

sword;

sword; though the Prince of Condé had perished in the disastrous field of Jarnac, though Coligny had been defeated in the subsequent battle of Montcontour, their fortitude seemed to rise with their disasters. They traversed in arms the most fertile provinces of the South of France; resisted, at Arnauld Duc, the flower of the royal forces; and extorted from their sovereign a treaty which ought to have secured them for ever in the tranquil enjoyment of their religious principles. But the concessions of Charles covered a deep and bloody scheme of vengeance, which had been suggested by the restless and implacable spirit of his mother; it was resolved to allure the Protestant leaders to court by every mark of esteem; to evade their suspicions by a well-dissembled zeal for their interests; and in the moment of confidence, to involve them in one general massacre.

In pursuance of this plan, Charles affected to lament the fate of the Protestants in the Netherlands, and declared his resolution to enter on a war with Philip, who, he pretended, had refused to grant him satisfaction for the injuries that had been offered by the Spaniards to his subjects in America; and he invited Coligny to Paris to direct his councils, and command his armies. To extend the glory of his country, and to vindicate from oppression the tenets of his religion, were the honourable objects of the admiral's ambition. He listened with pleasure

sure to the offer of leading the forces designed for Flanders; and entered into an intimate correspondence with the Prince of Orange; Count Lewis, the brother of the prince, had gained the hearts of the reformed in France, by sharing with them their dangers; he was now directed to repair to the frontiers of Flanders, that he might be ready to prepare the minds of his countrymen; and Charles promised him, that a powerful army should soon follow to vindicate the wrongs of the Flemings.

But in the conduct of this intricate machine of treachery, the King of France found himself unequal to regulate every part according to his wishes. No sooner were the Hugonots informed of the design on which Count Lewis had set out, than numbers of them, prompted by their religious zeal, and the restless military spirit of the age, flocked after him, and offered to assist him in any enterprise he would undertake; the love of fame was the ruling passion of Lewis; glory, as well as policy, urged him to attempt the early acquisition of some important town on the frontiers; at the head of fifteen hundred chosen followers, he marched silently towards Mons; a friendly wood concealed him till the dawn of day; when he rushed upon the guards, surprised the gates, and made himself master of the city, without the loss of a man.

The Duke of Alva could not dissemble his mortification at the intelligence of this event; he even
began

began to suspect the sincerity of the French court ; and he determined to employ the forces he had assembled to crush the revolt of the northern provinces, in the recovery of the capital of Hainault ; above twenty thousand veterans marched under the conduct of his son Frederic de Toledo, and invested Mons on every side.

The news of the siege rekindled the ardour of the reformed in France ; near five thousand of that persuasion, under the command of the *Sieur de Jenlis*, pressed forwards to the succour of their distressed brethren ; Charles could not, without awakening their suspicions, interpose his authority to stop their march ; but by a secret messenger he informed Toledo of their route, and the means by which he might intercept them ; yet had *Jenlis* listened to the counsels of *Coligny* and *Count Lewis*, and proceeded to *Cambray*, to join the *Prince of Orange*, he would have avoided the snares of his enemies ; but eager to engross the glory of delivering *Mons*, he had scarce reached the neighbouring village of *St. Ghislain*, when he was attacked by the flower of the Spanish army. The resistance of the French was gallant but ineffectual ; twelve hundred perished on the field ; as many more were slaughtered in the pursuit ; and *Jenlis* himself was conducted prisoner to the citadel of *Antwerp* ; his death soon after was attributed to poison ; but probably was the consequence of his own reflections ;

nor

nor is it likely that Alva should have had recourse to so base an expedient to get rid of a captive, whose abilities he could neither have esteemed, nor dreaded.

On the intelligence of the surprise of Mons, the Prince of Orange immediately commenced his operations; with an army more formidable for its numbers than its discipline, he entered the Netherlands, reduced Ruremond, passed the Maese, was received into Mecklin, Nivelles, Diest, and Tillemont, and surprised Dendermond and Oudenarde. But on the confines of Hainault he was arrested by a tale of blood and perfidy, which at once opened to him the destruction of his friends, and the peril of his own situation.

The plan of treachery, which, for above two years, had occupied the court of France, was at length brought to maturity. On the eve of St. Bartholomew, the fatal orders were issued by Charles the Ninth, which have for ever consigned to infamy his memory, and were intended to have extinguished the Protestant religion throughout Europe. While the unhappy votaries of that faith reposed in security on the honour of their sovereign, they were suddenly assailed in his capital by the ministers of death; during several days, the bloody labour was continued by superstitious fury; above five thousand of the reformed, among whom were the illustrious Coligny, and his amiable son-in-law,

law, Taligney, with the Count of Rochefoucault, were butchered in Paris; at the same moment the same tragedy was rehearsed in the provinces. The cities of Lyons, Orleans, Rouen, Angiers, and Thoulouse, were deluged with blood; and by a moderate computation, no less than twenty-five thousand Protestants have been supposed to have perished throughout the kingdom of France.

The melancholy tidings clouded the fairest hopes of the Prince of Orange; he beheld the two most powerful Princes of Europe combined against the faith he professed, and not only determined to employ open force but secret fraud. He could not be ignorant how unequal were his own resources to a contest with such formidable adversaries; but the voice of necessity allowed him not to hesitate; the walls of Mons already tottered; and the last hopes of his religion and his country were founded on his perseverance and magnanimity.

After the defeat of Jenlis, the Duke of Alva had himself joined the Spanish camp, and assumed the direction of the siege; he heard, without emotion, the approach of the Prince of Orange, and instead of yielding to the ardour of his officers, who pressed him to attack an army, not only inferior to his own in numbers and discipline, but fatigued by a long march through a deep and heavy country, he strengthened his works, and repeated his favourite

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ite maxim, that of all human events, the most uncertain was victory.

However his caution might be arraigned by his own followers, he had the satisfaction to perceive that it was productive of the greatest uneasiness to the Prince of Orange; after an ineffectual attempt to pierce the Spanish entrenchments, that general was obliged to resign Mons to its fate, and to point his march again towards the frontiers of Germany. But his disappointment had diminished his authority over his own troops; the turbulent Germans assumed a greater prerogative of licence; and their disobedience and negligence inspired Alva with the hope of indulging without hazard, the inclinations of his officers. Two thousand chosen infantry silently advanced, in the dead of night, towards the Protestant camp. They found the German sentinels, scattered on the ground, and fast asleep. The work of slaughter was begun; and the prince started from his couch at the groans of the wounded and the dying. The assailants had set fire to the tents; the flames enabled William to discover the number of the assailants, and to form his own troops; by his activity and valour, the Spaniards were repulsed; but five hundred Germans had perished in the confusion of the first attack; and the survivors were willing to transfer to their leader the consequences of their own neglect; in their murmurs they even proposed to deliver him up to Alva

to

to procure the payment of their arrears; the ungenerous design was received by the principal officers with horror and indignation; but the knowledge of it probably hastened William in his intention of disbanding an army, more formidable to its general than to the enemy; and with the few who yet adhered to his broken fortunes, he set out for Holland, where his influence was still considerable.

The defence of Mons had been protracted for several weeks after the departure of the prince; and Alva despairing to take the town by assault before winter, offered such terms of capitulation as Count Lewis deemed it not dishonourable to accede to.— A free retreat was granted to the garrison and the inhabitants, and the latter were permitted to carry with them their effects; but they were to bind themselves, by a general oath, that for the space of one year they would not bear arms either against the Kings of France or Spain; and Count Lewis was alone exempted from this obligation.

Though at Mons prudence had restrained the vengeful spirit of Alva, it was amply satiated at Mechlin and Zutphen; these towns, which had been distinguished by their zeal for the Prince of Orange, were abandoned to the fury and avarice of the Spanish soldiers, who spreading themselves over them like a deluge, gave a loose to every species of violence, butchering some, and plundering

all without mercy ; there was no distinction made of age, sex, or condition ; Virgins and matrons were violated before the eyes of their parents and husbands ; the churches and convents were pillaged, as well as the private houses ; and the nuns were not exempted from that brutal lust which the Spaniards indulged without controul.

A feeble apology was offered by the partizans of Alva for these enormities ; great arrears, they said, were due to the soldiers ; and as he could not satisfy them, he either thought it reasonable to allow them to take a compensation for their pay, or, being well acquainted with their ferocious temper, he was afraid to exercise his authority. But he himself was far from blushing at his conduct, or seeking shelter under the proffered vindication. In a manifesto which he published, he declared the citizens had only suffered the chastisement that the rebellion demanded ; that justice was not yet entirely satisfied ; and that those cities which had already imitated, or should afterwards imitate, their example, might expect, sooner or later, to meet with the same fate. The menaces of Alva were not to be disregarded ; and the towns of Groningen, Overijssel, Utrecht, and Friesland, which had embraced the party of the Prince, were emulous to deserve the pardon of their temerity by an early submission.

But the maritime provinces, either conscious of their local advantages, or more firmly attached to the Protestant faith, were neither to be moved by threats nor concessions. The inhabitants of Holland and Zealand had improved the leisure which the siege of Mons had afforded them in preparations for a vigorous resistance; in the former province they had coldly turned from the offer of Philip to relinquish the taxes of the tenth and twentieth pennies, on condition that the States would devise some other means by which the money necessary for his service might be raised; they had by a solemn declaration acknowledged the Prince of Orange, under the title of Stadtholder, as their only lawful governor; and after his retreat from Mons, they had received him with a transport which proved their confidence was far from diminished by the disappointment he had been exposed to; but the city of Amsterdam had refused to accede to their resolutions; it had even repelled an attempt which had been made to reduce it by force to join in the confederacy; and amidst the general revolt of the province, the capital still preserved its allegiance unshaken.

To confirm that city in its present loyal disposition, and to extort the submission of the rebellious towns of Holland, were the immediate objects of the operations of Alva; the Spanish army was directed to move forwards, under the com-

mand of Toledo; and Naerden, a small town about fourteen miles east of Amsterdam, was first destined to experience its fury. The inhabitants had refused admittance to a troop of Spanish horse, and though they quickly repented their rashness, the only answer their deputies could obtain from Toledo was, that Julio Romero, who commanded his vanguard, was empowered to grant them such terms as he should deem reasonable. The promise of Romero extended to the security of their lives and fortunes, with the single reserve, that an hundred soldiers should be permitted to seize as much booty as they could carry out at one time. But the conditions had scarce been accepted before Toledo appeared at the gates; and at the head of his troops, impatient of blood and plunder, rushed into the prostrate city; the same horrors which had polluted the streets of Mechlin and Zutphen, were rehearsed in Naerden; several days the soldiers were permitted to riot in all the crimes of military licence; and it was not until objects for his cruelty were wanting, that Toledo led his troops from the guilty scene to Amsterdam.

In that city he patiently expected for some time the effects of that terror which he vainly hoped the fate of Naerden would inspire; the people, instead of being intimidated, were inflamed by despair; by the mediation of the magistrates of Amsterdam, he had endeavoured to reclaim to their alle-

allegiance the inhabitants of Haerlem; but the latter firmly rejected every proposal of accommodation. Resistance, they exclaimed, could not be more dangerous than submission; and they determined to shed the last drop of their blood, rather than open their gates to so perfidious an enemy.

A. D. 1572, Their resolution was soon put to
 1573. the proof; the siege of Haerlem was immediately formed by Toledo, whose haughty spirit resembled that of his father, and was equally impatient of opposition. A well-disciplined army of twenty thousand veterans, seemed to promise him an easy victory; but he was soon instructed of what exertions minds animated by the love of civil and religious freedom were capable. Week after week were consumed in the arduous enterprise; his bravest soldiers were worn out by incessant toil, or had perished in repeated attacks; and his most experienced officers advised him to relinquish an undertaking, in which the calamities of the besiegers exceeded those of the besieged. But from this inglorious design he was soon deterred by the reproaches of his father. “ You
 “ must,” said that haughty noble, in a letter to his son, “ prosecute the siege until you bring it to
 “ the desired issue, unless you would prove your-
 “ self unworthy of the name you bear, and the
 “ blood you sprung from. You must endeavour
 “ to effect by famine what you have been unable

“accomplish by the sword; you must blockade
“the town, instead of storming it; but if you still
“entertain thoughts of abandoning the enterprise,
“I will either come myself to the camp, sick as I
“am, or if my increasing illness should prevent
“me, I will send for the Dutchess of Alva to as-
“sume the command.” So severe a reproof was
not necessary to re-kindle the ardour of Frederic;
the reinforcements he had received, enabled him
to surround on every side the devoted city; the
inhabitants, who had sustained every martial toil
and danger with fortitude, began to faint beneath
the pressure of famine; a considerable body of
forces that had been dispatched by the Prince of
Orange to their succour, had been defeated in
their fight; and the near prospect of relief served
to augment the sense of their distress; a meagre band,
they assembled in arms with their wives and chil-
dren, in the centre, and resolved to attempt a pas-
sage with their swords through the entrenchments
of the enemy. But Toledo had already been in-
formed of their desperate resolution; instead of a
great and important city, he considered that the
fruits of his labours would only be an heap of ruins;
by a message, which insinuated the hope of safety,
he recalled them to the love of life; and he at last
engaged, that on condition of their paying two
hundred thousand florins, the army should be re-
strained from plundering; and that the inhabitants,
except

except fifty-seven, whom he named, should receive the full pardon of their offences.

The exception of so great a number of citizens, who were the most considerable persons in the town, would probably have broken off the treaty; but the Germans, who composed the greatest part of the garrison, insisted that the terms should be accepted; the gates were accordingly thrown open to the besiegers; the citizens and soldiers surrendered their arms; and during three days, though they were strictly guarded, their hunger was relieved by a regular distribution of bread. Late on the evening of the third day, the Duke of Alva arrived, under pretence of viewing the fortifications; but the tragic scene with which the ensuing morning was issued in, sufficiently revealed the bloody object of his visit. Three hundred Walloons were led out to slaughter; nor did the death of these satiate the vengeance of the sanguinary victors; numbers of the citizens were butchered; and according to the lowest computation, nine hundred brave men, who, trusting to Toledo's promise, had given up their arms, and thrown themselves upon his mercy, were executed like the vilest malefactors.

From the massacre of Haerlem, it was the intention of Toledo to have advanced against the neighbouring town of Alcmaer; but his soldiers had resented the terms which had been granted to

the inhabitants of the former city; they were not to be satisfied with blood alone; the example of their commanders had taught them how easily treaties might be violated; and they demanded the payment of their arrears or the pillage of Haerlem; that wretched city was subjected to their avarice; the inhabitants were exposed to new oppressions; and it was not until their resources were exhausted, that the Spanish troops consented to quit the sweets of plunder for the toils of war.

The pillage of Haerlem proved the safety of Alcmaer; the Prince of Orange had time to reinforce the garrison; the citizens availed themselves of the delay to expel the Catholics, whose fidelity they doubted; and when the cannon of the Spaniards had at length made a breach, and they advanced to the assault, they were received with an intrepidity that filled them with astonishment and dismay. They were obliged to retire with the loss of six hundred killed, and three hundred wounded. Before they could renew the attack, Alva was informed of the design of the Hollanders to open their sluices, and lay the adjacent country under water; to save his army from the impending destruction, he with reluctance sent orders to his son to abandon the siege, and to establish his winter quarters in the southern provinces.

Nor was the repulse at Alcmaer the only mortification to which Alva was exposed. In revenge for

for the assistance which the people of Amsterdam had afforded the Spaniards, during the siege of Haerlem, the inhabitants of Enchuyfen, Horn, and other Protestant cities, had fitted out a numerous fleet, with which they swept the Zuyder Sea, and threatened to annihilate the commerce of the capital of Holland. The evil called for the presence of Alva; who at Amsterdam equipped twelve large ships of war, which he confided to the skill and experience of the Count de Boffut; on board these were embarked several hundreds of Spanish veterans; and Alva hoped that the bulk of his ships, and the valour of his soldiers, would be more than a match for the superior numbers of the enemy.

At the mouth of the river Ye, Boffut descried the sails of the Protestants; though his own judgment would have induced him to have declined an engagement where the force was so unequal, he yielded to the impatience of the citizens of Amsterdam, and to the positive orders of Alva. The conflict was fierce and bloody; but victory soon declared in favour of the Hollanders. Of Boffut's fleet, one ship with all the crew, was overwhelmed in the waves; three were stranded, and became the prizes of the victors; and all the rest, except the Admiral's galley, saved themselves by flight; surrounded on every side, the latter still continued to resist, until of three hundred soldiers on board,

above

above two hundred were killed, and almost all the survivors wounded. In this situation, one of the Spaniards, who remembered the scenes of treachery and slaughter in which he had been concerned at Naerden and Haerlem, advised the Admiral to receive the enemy into the ship, and then to blow her into the air; but Boffut, conscious of having done every thing that either his duty or his honour could require, refused to listen to so desperate a proposal; he chose rather to confide in the proffered mercy of the Hollanders, and on condition that the lives of the crew should be respected, he struck his flag, and was conducted prisoner to the town of Horn.

While the mind of Alva still struggled with the fatal intelligence of the destruction of his fleet, his anxiety was increased by the tidings that the Protestants had surprised the town of San Gertrudenberg, which gave them the command of the Maese, and a free entrance into the province of Brabant. These disasters were far from balanced by an advantage which his troops had obtained in the southern provinces, where St. Aldegonde was made prisoner; this nobleman, the author of the celebrated compromise, would probably have added another victim to the resentment of Alva, had not the Prince of Orange declared, that whatever severities were practised on St. Aldegonde should be retaliated on the Count de Boffut.

With

With this event ended the administration of Alva; incessant toil of body and mind had preyed upon his health; and he solicited his recall from a station, to the duties of which his constitution was no longer equal. Many thought they discerned under this request a secret dread that his favour with his sovereign declined; yet Alva still seems to have possessed the royal confidence; but it is more than probable that even the haughty spirit of Philip began to bend; that having tried in vain the effects of severity, he reluctantly had consented to adopt more moderate counsels; and he was conscious how improperly they would come recommended from a person who, on his departure, boasted, that during a government of less than six years, upwards of eighteen thousand heretics had suffered in the Netherlands by the hand of the public executioner; besides a much greater number who had been slaughtered on the field of battle, or massacred in the towns that he had reduced,

Chapter the Twenty-first.

Appointment of Requesens—His Conduct—Attempts and fails in the Relief of Middleburg—Views of the Court of France—Enterprise, Defeat, and Death of Count Lewis—Siege and Relief of Leyden—Fruitless Negotiations for Peace—Invasion of Zealand—Death of Requesens—Mutiny of the Spanish Troops—Sack of Antwerp—Confederacy of the Provinces, under the name of the Pacification of Ghent—Nomination of Don John of Austria—His Treaty with the States—He dismisses the Spanish and Italian Troops—He secretly foment the Discontents of the Germans—He surprises Namur—Rupture with the States, who summon to their assistance the Prince of Orange—Jealousy of the Catholic Nobles—Election of Matthias—Views of Henry the Third and Elizabeth—Return of the Spanish and Italian Troops—Victory of Gembloux—Repulse of Don John—He Retires under the Cannon of Namur—His Discontent and Death—He names the Prince of Parma for his Successor—Divisions between the States and their Allies—The Prince of Parma takes Maestricht—Reclaims the Catholic Provinces to their Obedience—Conferences at Cologne—Magnanimity of the Prince of Orange.

A. D. 1573. **T**HE choice of a successor to Alva had exercised the judgment of Philip; the prudence

dence of Requesens, commandator of Castille, had been displayed in the government of Milan; and in the celebrated battle of Lepanto his personal courage at least had been acknowledged; on his qualities the King of Spain relied to allure or compel his Flemish subjects to obedience; and to him he transferred the title and authority of regent.

A. D. 1574. The first measure of the new governor was to restrain the insolence of the military; and to abolish the trophies which his predecessor had raised to commemorate his own guilty victories. The statue of Alva, which had been erected in the citadel of Antwerp, was thrown down; and every inscription which might wound the feelings of the people was carefully erased. His next object was the relief of Middleburgh, which for near eighteen months had been closely pressed by the Protestants; on the safety of the capital depended the allegiance of the few remaining towns in Zealand which were not yet infected with the spirit of revolt; and in the first enterprize on which he ventured, Requesens was desirous of impressing the states with an idea of his vigour and resources. At Antwerp and Bergen-Opzoom he equipped above thirty ships of war, besides transports with provisions and military stores. This fleet was divided into two squadrons, and the regent hoped that while the attention of the enemy was distracted, one at least might force an entrance into the canal

canal of Middleburg, and pour relief into the famished city.

But the very means on which he depended for success, were productive of defeat. The Prince of Orange had passed over from Holland to the isle of Walcheren, to assist the Zealanders with his counsels; he had been early apprized of the disposition of Requesens; and he dispatched the greatest part of his naval force to meet and encounter the squadron which, under de Glimes and Romero, was from Bergen to fall down the eastern Scheld. The conflict was rude and bloody; but early in the action the vessel of Glimes was entangled on a sand bank, and set on fire by the Zealanders; Romero, who had hastened to support his Admiral, was involved in the same danger; and throwing himself into the sea, escaped only by his strength and dexterity. The greatest part of the royal fleet was taken or destroyed; de Glimes, and several other officers, with near a thousand Walloons and Spaniards, perished; and d'Avila, who commanded the other squadron, informed of the fate of his colleague, steered back his course to Antwerp.

With the defeat of the Spanish fleet expired the hopes of the garrison of Middleburgh; Mondragon, who commanded it, had discharged every duty of a soldier and an officer; his example had taught his companions to feed, without a murmur,
on

on the flesh of dogs and horses ; but even this ungrateful food was exhausted ; and he considered it as his duty to preserve, by a timely capitulation, those brave men who had been intrusted to his care. He offered to deliver up the city, on conditions, that the garrison should be allowed to depart with their arms and baggage, and the Catholic inhabitants with their effects ; to these the Prince of Orange added the demand of the freedom of St. Aldegond, and the regent, desirous of recommending his administration by moderation, and a strict observance of his word, subscribed and punctually fulfilled the articles.

The reduction of Middleburg encouraged the Prince of Orange to more important enterprises. The massacre of St. Bartholomew had shaken, but not overthrown, the Calvinist party in France ; they had again lifted up their heads ; and by the vigorous defence of Rochelle, had extorted from their sovereign a treaty not less advantageous to their cause than that which had been so recently violated. Charles the Ninth seemed himself to have awakened to the ignominy into which the perfidious counsels of Catherine had plunged him ; to check the power of Spain he had even entered into a secret league with Count Lewis ; had assisted him with money, and had stipulated in return the sovereignty of the provinces of Holland and Zealand. This seasonable pecuniary supply enabled

abled Lewis, at the head of near ten thousand French and German Protestants, and accompanied by his brother Henry, and Christopher son to the Elector Palatine, to penetrate into Guelderland; and to pursue his march towards Brabant, to join the forces of the prince, who was advancing from the maritime provinces to meet him.

But on the banks of the Maese, he found an enemy instead of an ally; Requesens, though late, had been informed of his design; and while he himself remained in Antwerp to watch the intrigues of the Prince of Orange, he dispatched Sancio d'Avila, with the flower of the Spanish troops, to oppose the progress of Count Lewis. That officer beheld the enemy strongly posted in the village of Mouchet, a small distance from the river; confiding, however, in the well-known courage of his troops, he gave the signal of attack; nor were the Protestants capable of withstanding the fury of the charge; the entrenchments on every side were forced; near five thousand of the vanquished were slaughtered in the action and the pursuit; and the victory was rendered more decisive by the deaths of Count Lewis, his brother Henry, and the Count Palatine; who, after a vain effort to restore the day, threw themselves into the midst of the carnage, and fell sword in hand.

The fate of Count Lewis and his followers determined the retreat of the Prince of Orange; nor
would

would he have found it easy to have regained in safety the frontiers of Holland, had not the Spanish troops sullied the glory they had acquired in battle by rebelling against their officers. With loud menaces they demanded the payment of their arrears; and impatient of the evasive promises of d'Avila, they marched to Antwerp, and fixed their quarters in that opulent city. The presence and entreaties of Requesens, with the more persuasive argument of an hundred thousand Florins, which were immediately distributed amongst them, prevailed on them again to take the field; and to form the siege of Leyden.

But while Requesens was assiduously occupied in preparations for that enterprise, he was subjected to a new mortification which he could not but feel most sensibly; in hopes of recovering the maritime provinces, he had equipped a considerable fleet at Antwerp; apprehensive that the mutineers, to extort a compliance with their demands, might take possession of these ships, he had removed them from the protection of the cannon of the city; but their change of situation exposed them to a more fatal disaster; the Zealanders, ever daring and vigilant, were informed of their defenceless state; they suddenly attacked them; sunk and destroyed several; took forty; and rendered all the rest unfit for service.

It was not only on the sword that the regent depended for re-establishing the royal authority. An act of indemnity was published, in the name of the King; but the people of the Netherlands were not conscious of that guilt which Philip's pompous deed of clemency imputed to them; it was besides clogged with a stipulation, that the Protestant revolvers should return into the bosom of the established church; and the situation of the reformed was not so desperate that they should accede to terms which once more would have subjected them to the oppressive jurisdiction of the inquisition.

Yet the dangers that menaced them demanded their utmost fortitude: the siege of Leyden had already continued above three months; and the inhabitants had endured every distress that famine could inflict; the Prince of Orange, who was acquainted with their extreme misery, had left nothing unattempted for their relief; he had already collected large supplies of provisions; but could not, with all his activity or address, raise sufficient force to open a passage into the city; to drain their lands, to exclude the water, and to preserve the dykes, were then, as they are still, objects to the Dutch of almost constant attention; but at the moment they were animated by objects still more interesting; their love of liberty, joined to their dread of popery, prevailed over every other consideration. They resolved to avail themselves of that furious
element

element from which their country had so frequently suffered; to open the sluices, to break down the dykes of the Maese and Iffel, and flooding the country round Leyden, to get access to the besieged with their fleet. The waters soon diffused themselves over the adjacent fields; but the Spaniards, though driven from the lower grounds, were still enabled to keep possession of their higher forts; the blockade was continued, and the besieged, while they beheld from their walls the sails and flags of the vessels destined for their relief, were reduced to feed on the roots of herbs and weeds, and on soup made from the putrefied hides of animals. Such unwholesome food soon produced a pestilence, and swept off in a few weeks thousands of the inhabitants; those who survived, overwhelmed with anguish at the dismal scenes which they daily beheld, were scarce able to perform the mournful office of burying the dead; at length the moment of their deliverance arrived; towards the end of September, the wind changing from the north-east, to the north-west, poured the ocean into the mouths of the rivers with uncommon violence; and then veering about to the South, it propelled the water towards the plains of Leyden, until they were converted into a spacious lake; the Spaniards, sensible of the danger which had attended their perseverance, attempted too late to quit their forts; they were pursued by the Zealand-

ers, and above fifteen hundred perished in the waves or by the sword ; the victors sailed in triumph into Leyden ; nor was their assistance imparted before it was absolutely necessary ; and so exhausted were the besieged, that had the blockade been protracted two days longer, they must all have perished.

These repeated disappointments preyed on the spirits of Requesens ; an ineffectual negotiation for peace had been commenced, under the auspices of the Emperor Maximilian ; but as Philip was inexorable on the head of religion, and as the reformed were equally determined not to abandon what they deemed the true faith, the conferences were abruptly broken off, and the sword was again drawn.

A. D. 1575. The campaign opened with the invasion of Zealand ; and the regent flattered himself, by transferring the war to the immediate seat of revolt, with the most splendid advantages. The valour of his troops, and the enterprising genius of their commanders, after a long struggle, erected the royal standard on the walls of Zúricsee, the capital of the island of Schowen ; but the siege had been prolonged by the obstinacy of the garrison through nine months ; and whatever exultation the success of the enterprise might inspire, was clouded by the death of Requesens ; his constitution sunk beneath incessant toil and anxiety ; and his

decease

decease at this critical juncture exposed the Netherlands to new and more sanguinary calamities.

A. D. 1576. The intractable and mutinous spirit of the Spanish troops seemed to revive with every gleam of prosperity; their daring courage was not more formidable to their enemies than to their friends. That mutiny, which with difficulty was appeased after their victory over Count Lewis, on the capture of Zuricsee, broke out with increase of fury. The council of state, who on the death of the regent had assumed the reins of government, were incapable of satisfying their demands, or restraining their rage. The arrears due to them was the immediate pretence for insurrection. They deposed their lawful officers, and promoted by election their own comrades to command; they surprised the town of Allost; laid the adjacent country under contribution; and though declared rebels by the council of state, continued their predatory excursions; their example was communicated to the garrison of Antwerp; and the dissensions of the latter with the citizens were soon heightened into open war; the noise of the cannon reached the mutineers of Allost; and inflamed their native ferocity; "to arms, to arms," they tumultuously shouted, and impatient of delay, they rushed forwards to the support of their brethren; their impetuosity disregarded the fatigue of a long march; and impelled by the hopes of spoil and vengeance,

they precipitated themselves on the unhappy city; the inhabitants, with the Walloon troops, which espoused their cause, were incapable of sustaining their furious charge. In their head-long course they trampled down all opposition; and their thirst of blood was satiated with the slaughter of seven thousand Flemings. But avarice was a passion not so easily extinguished. From almost every commercial nation companies of merchants, had fixed their residence in Antwerp; their habitations were adorned with the most costly furniture; their warehouses were filled with the most precious commodities; but this scene of opulence was soon defaced; and for three successive days the Spanish soldiers rioted in plunder. The quantities of gold and silver, of rich manufactures and merchandize, which they seized or destroyed, have never been estimated; but the sum of eight millions of guilders, which they extorted in money from the trembling inhabitants, remains a sufficient evidence of the extravagance of their demands, and of the wealth of the city.

The garrison of Ghent, though inferior in number, did not yield in rapacity to that of Antwerp. In a sally from the citadel, they had been repulsed by the inhabitants; but the states were too conscious of the inequality of the contest between men educated in the peaceful labours of commerce, and soldiers long inured to blood and victory, to imagine

gine the former could long resist the impression of the latter; however painful the expedient, they resolved to implore the protection of the Prince of Orange; William, who had not been an inattentive spectator of the scene, readily embraced their defence; with a chosen detachment of well-disciplined troops, he rapidly advanced from the frontiers of Holland; and in conjunction with the inhabitants, soon compelled the Spaniards to evacuate the citadel.

So seasonable a service could not fail of promoting the views of the Prince; on the death of Requesens, he had projected a scheme of uniting all the provinces; by his letters and emissaries, he had endeavoured to rouse the spirit of the people, and to persuade the council that now was the time when they might deliver themselves for ever from the tyranny of Spain. Trembling beneath the scourge of military licence, and grateful for the recent assistance he had imparted, the States at length entered into his ideas; deputies were appointed, and invested with proper powers; and in the congress which was held at Ghent, a treaty of confederacy was concluded, under which all the provinces, except Luxemburgh, were comprehended.

In this confederacy, so well known in the Netherlands by the name of the Pacification of Ghent, it was agreed between the Catholic provinces, on the one hand, and those of Holland and Zealand,

with the Prince of Orange; on the other, that there should subsist between them an inviolable alliance; that they should assist each other to the utmost of their power in expelling the Spaniards from the Netherlands; and as soon as the public tranquillity was established by the expulsion of their oppressors, a general assembly should be held of the States for redressing grievances, reforming abuses, and restoring the constitution to its primitive purity and vigour; that the Prince of Orange should be confirmed in the offices of High Admiral and Governor of the maritime provinces; that all the exiles should be reinstated in their possessions and dignities; that in the Catholic provinces, the ancient form of worship should alone be exercised; but in those of Holland and Zealand, all matters, whether civil or religious, should remain as they were at present, until finally settled in a general assembly of the states.

The seditious spirit of the Spanish troops, and the general disaffection of the Flemings, had been, with the intelligence of the death of Requesens, early conveyed to the court of Madrid; the choice of a new regent demanded the most mature reflection; and on this occasion, to preserve his authority, Philip even seemed to suspend his jealousy; though long envious of the more splendid and amiable qualities of his brother, he consented to commit the reins of administration to the vigorous
hand

hand of Don John of Austria : but though adorned with the laurels of Lepanto, and esteemed for his affable and insinuating manners, Don John possessed not the prudence, the patience, and penetration with which his antagonist the Prince of Orange was so eminently endowed. His first measures, however, on his arrival in the province of Luxemburg, were of a conciliatory nature ; he ratified the pacification of Ghent ; he engaged that all the foreign troops in the service of Spain should leave the Netherlands, and never return without the consent of the States ; that the Spaniards and Italians should depart within the space of forty days, and the Germans immediately after receiving satisfaction with regard to their arrears ; and he promised that diligent inquiry should be made concerning the late outrages ; that the guilty should be punished, and a reasonable compensation made to the sufferers, either in the Netherlands or in Spain, as the King should determine.

A. D. 1577. When the States had accepted the proffered alliance of the Prince of Orange, they had not concealed the reluctance with which they exposed their country to the horrors of civil war ; the principal members of the Assembly, educated in the lap of peace, were averse to arms, and strongly inclined to negotiation ; they therefore readily embraced the offers of Don John, consented to receive him as Governor General of the Netherlands.

therlands, and renewed their oath of allegiance to Philip ; but the provinces of Holland and Zealand were not impressed by the same feelings ; the new treaty presented them with no security for the free exercise of the Protestant religion ; but though policy induced them to suppress, lest they should alarm the bigotry of the Catholic provinces, their principal objection, they were not silent on other points of considerable importance ; no provision, they observed, had been made for the regular meeting of the states ; and they dwelt with artful indignation on the rewards, under the name of arrears, which were promised to those troops who had not only scattered terror and devastation through the provinces, but had been formally declared rebels by the Council, when clothed with the royal authority.

The Catholics could not but be sensible of the weight of these arguments ; but they had advanced too far to retire ; the treaty was already signed ; six hundred thousand florins had been granted to Don John for the payment of the Spanish and Italian troops ; the money was immediately distributed amongst them ; and this brave but ferocious band began their retreat, enriched with the spoils of their fellow-subjects, and without the least compunction for the rapacity and violence which they had exercised.

Inflamed

Inflamed with ambition and the love of war, it was not without regret that Don John had acquiesced under the orders of the King, which strictly enjoined him to avoid any open rupture with the Catholic provinces; he beheld with concern the departure of those intrepid veterans, on whose swords he could have relied to have opened him the road to fame. The Germans still remained; and while he affected to urge their retreat, he summoned their leaders to Mechlin, and exhorted them privately to maintain their posts; at the same time he lamented to the States, that a greater sum was necessary to discharge their arrears than could be levied in the Low Countries; and he proposed to them to send his secretary Escovedo to Madrid, to solicit the assistance of Philip. That assembly were the dupes of his artifice; and Escovedo was dispatched, not to promote the departure of the Germans, but to press the return of the Spaniards and Italians.

In the mean time, the Regent continued his intrigues with the German officers; before the execution of the plans he had formed, he judged it necessary to withdraw from Brussels, and if possible to make himself master of some place of strength near the frontiers. Namur appeared the fittest for his purpose, as its situation would enable him to receive the reinforcements he expected from Spain and Italy; and as Margaret of Navarre intended

tended to pass through the city, in her way to Spa, on pretence of paying his respects to that princess, he entered Namur with a chosen train in whom he could trust. In a moment of festive confidence, he surprised the gate of the citadel; expelled the Governor, whose integrity was inflexible; and extorted by threats or promises the submission of the citizens.

After such an open violation of his faith, there could be little room for negotiation; yet, in a letter to the States, he lamented that the plots which had been laid to deprive him of his liberty and life, had obliged him to have recourse to so hostile an expedient. That assembly was filled with indignation at this conduct, and with astonishment at the charge he brought forward. They still anxiously wished to preserve the provinces from being plunged again into the calamities of war; and they could not imagine the regent would have ventured on so daring a step, without the certainty of some powerful support. Instead of giving way to their resentment, they hoped to reclaim him from the dangerous path into which he had deviated, by full assurances of satisfaction; and they empowered their ambassadors to declare, that if he would name the persons he suspected, they should be strictly examined, and as severely punished, if found guilty.

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But a legal prosecution would have been far from advancing the designs of Don John; a few anonymous letters, which he said had been transmitted to him, was all the evidence he could adduce of the pretended conspiracy; but at the same time he announced his final resolution never to return to Brussels, unless the States would invest him with the entire command of the army, and break off all communication with the Prince of Orange, and the provinces of Holland and Zealand.

With this reply was terminated all amicable intercourse between Don John and the States; the perfidy of the former had concurred to impress the latter with an high opinion of the penetration of the Prince of Orange, who had early warned them of the Governor's duplicity; as war was now inevitable, they invited him to fix his residence in Brussels; and William entered that capital, amidst the joyful shouts of a grateful people, who saluted him with the glorious appellations of *the father of his country, and the guardian of its liberty and laws.*

But the general exultation was soon disturbed by the spirit of jealousy; Philip de Croy, Duke of Arschot. the Marquis of Havrée his brother, the Count de Lalain, and several other of the Catholic nobility, had, since the death of Requesens, distinguished themselves as strenuous assertors of the public freedom; they could not bear, however, to behold their own influence overwhelmed by the
popu-

popularity of William ; they endeavoured to conceal their envy under an affected anxiety at the danger to which the Catholic faith was exposed, by the unreserved confidence that was placed in one who was an avowed friend to the new religion ; and to give greater weight to their party, they invited the Archduke Matthias, the brother of the Emperor, to assume the government of the provinces.

A. D. 1578. So splendid an offer was too alluring to the mind of that young prince to be rejected ; without communicating his design to his brother, whose disapprobation he justly suspected, Matthias, in the night, set out from Vienna, and travelled with such rapidity, that he gained Lierres in Brabant before the Imperial messengers could overtake him. The States, astonished at the news of his arrival, and highly incensed against those who had invited him, would have instantly rejected his pretensions, had they not been dissuaded from so impolitic a step by the Prince of Orange ; that prudent statesman discerned in a moment the advantages which might be derived from the rivalry of the different branches of the House of Austria ; he prevailed on them to receive Matthias with all the respect due to his rank, and to elect him governor ; and the Duke of Arschot, and his associates, had the mortification to perceive that they had advanced, instead of repressed, the power

power of their rival, since it was to the influence of the Prince of Orange that the promotion of Matthias was universally ascribed.

The elevation of Matthias did not induce the Emperor to deviate from that strict neutrality he had professed to observe; and Henry the Third, who had succeeded, in the throne of France, Charles the Ninth, was too much occupied by his own affairs to attend to those of the Netherlands; he however encouraged his brother, the Duke of Anjou, to aspire to the sovereignty of those provinces, and flattered himself, that by such an expedition, he should be delivered from the restless and intriguing spirits that menaced the repose of his dominions. Whatever might be the expectations of the States from the promises of Anjou, it was to the Queen of England that they looked up for immediate succour; that princess, equally bold and prudent, had established her authority in the heart of her Protestant subjects; she was sensible that the bigotry of Philip would ever be the source of latent enmity towards her; she had penetrated the design of Don John, by espousing Mary of Scotland, to lay the foundation of his own pretensions to the British crowns; and resentment and policy combined in prompting her to feed the flame of revolt in Flanders; she engaged, by a formal treaty, to supply the States both with money and troops; but at the same time she dispatched an
ambas-

ambassador to the court of Madrid, to justify her conduct ; and to assure Philip, that her only intention was to prevent the provinces in despair from throwing themselves into the hands of some other power. The apology was received with the respect it merited ; and as the King of Spain was not yet prepared for an open rupture with England, he passed in silence the injurious interference of Elizabeth.

It however determined him to act with increase of vigour ; and however he might be jealous of the ambition, and be distrustful of the plans, of his brother, he ordered the Spanish and Italian troops that had been so lately recalled, to return to the Netherlands, under the conduct of Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma. The junction of these with the Germans, which he had already assembled, swelled the forces of the Regent to fifteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, and enabled him to indulge the vengeance he had long secretly cherished ; at Gembloux he attacked the army of the States, which consisted of ten thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry, and with the loss of only two hundred men, obtained a victory, which was marked by the slaughter of three thousand Flemings ; with the same ease and rapidity, he reduced the towns of Louvain, Sichem, and Nivelles ; and Brussels already trembled at his approach.

From

From the menaced siege of that city, flushed with conquest, the Regent directed his march towards the Diemar, in quest of fresh laurels; on the banks of that river the Count de Bossut had collected the remnant of the army that had been defeated at Gembloux; he had been reinforced by the succours arrived from England, and by several detachments of Flemings; and a position naturally advantageous was defended by ten thousand men, who justly confided in their leader; the judgment of the Prince of Parma was in vain exerted to dissuade Don John from the attack of so formidable a corps, covered by the strongest entrenchments. But the ardour of the Regent was deaf to every remonstrance; the Spaniards rushed to the assault with their wonted courage; but they were exposed to an heavy fire from the batteries, and entangled in the works of the enemy; after a fruitless struggle, they were obliged to abandon a field, which was strewn with nine hundred of their bravest veterans; and the Regent, after so severe a repulse, incapable of resisting in open ground the armies which were ready to pour in upon him from France and Germany, retired again under the cannon of Namur.

In this situation, he cast many a longing look, in expectation of the succours which he had been promised from Spain and Italy; but the jealousy of Philip had revived; and instead of the march of armies to join him, Don John received the alarm-

ing intelligence that his confidential secretary, Escovedo, had been assassinated in the streets of Madrid ; he could not be at a loss to guess the powerful author of so daring a crime ; deserted by a brother, on whom he had depended, defrauded of the military glory he had fondly anticipated, anxiety and disappointment pressed upon his mind ; a dark rumour has been preserved, that a noxious draught, administered to him by some Spanish ecclesiastics, at the command of Philip, was fatal to his life ; but it is more probable that he was the victim of an indignant spirit, which could not brook the inaction to which the envy of his brother condemned him.

A. D. 1579. The dying breath of the Regent devolved his authority on Alexander Farnese ; and had the States themselves acted with vigour and unanimity, the Prince of Parma would have had little reason to have rejoiced in so dangerous a mark of esteem. The city of Amsterdam had at length acceded to the treaty of confederacy ; the gold of England had allured forty thousand Germans, under Prince Casimire, to pass the Rhine and the Maese ; the Duke of Anjou, with a considerable body of troops, was encamped in the neighbourhood of Mons, and had assumed the title of Protector of the Netherlands. But these mighty preparations were rendered ineffectual by a spirit of division, which even the prudence and mode-

moderation of the Prince of Orange could not restrain. The Catholic cities beheld with terror the march of the Protestant forces, under Prince Casimire ; in many places they refused to admit them within their walls ; and in almost all, they withheld the contributions necessary for their subsistence ; the Duke of Anjou was not received with greater confidence ; mutual distrust prevailed in every department ; each party was loud in the accusation of their adversaries, and while the Duke of Anjou retired within the limits of France, Casimire, after disbanding the greatest part of the Germans, passed over into England, to vindicate his conduct to Elizabeth.

The dissensions of the Flemings and their allies called into action the Prince of Parma ; while the armies of the States remained in the field, his prudence had confined him within the limits of his camp ; but no sooner were the French and Germans disbanded, than he gave full scope to his enterprising genius. After alarming Antwerp, by a series of well-concerted manœuvres, he suddenly appeared before the gates of Maestricht, and though the inhabitants resisted his attacks for above three months, in a moment of lassitude and negligence he made himself master of the city. Nor was it only by arms that he aspired to re-establish the royal authority ; the jealousy that had been excited in the Walloon or Flemish troops, by the introduc-

tion of the German forces, survived even after the cause had been removed ; the Prince of Parma was not slow to avail himself of their discontents ; and Farnese concluded with them a treaty, which once more reclaimed them to their allegiance : the negotiation was conducted by the deputies of French Flanders, Artois, and Hainault, in the name of those provinces ; the principal article of it was, that the Italian and Spanish veterans should again be withdrawn ; and Philip more readily consented to this condition, as he had already meditated other and not less important wars, which promised full employment to their restless valour.

The secession of provinces, which had produced the most hardy and warlike inhabitants of the Netherlands, could not but impress the mind of the Prince of Orange with distrust and anxiety ; he had endeavoured to counterbalance the effects of it by a new alliance of perpetual union between the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Guelderland, Friesland, Brabant, and Flanders, and which, from the place where it was signed, has been distinguished by the name of the Union of Utrecht : though this confederacy has justly been considered as the foundation of the republic of the United Provinces, the immediate success was not such as William fondly expected ; he was embarrassed by the turbulence of Ghentese, and by the mutual suspicions of the Protestants and Catholics ;

tholics; nor is it wonderful, that under these circumstances he should listen to proposals of peace, which Philip, impatient to assert his pretensions to the crown of Portugal, condescended to make; but as he still remained inflexible on the head of religion, the conferences of Cologne afforded only an opportunity to the Duke d'Arshot and his party to reconcile themselves to their sovereign; and served to display the magnanimity of the Prince of Orange, who, to the advantages which it was urged he might derive from the favour of the King, nobly replied, “ that he would listen to no
“ proposal which related to himself; that he was
“ conscious in all his conduct he had been animat-
“ ed by a disinterested affection towards the public
“ good; and that no consideration would induce
“ him to enter into any agreement, from which
“ the states and people were excluded; but if
“ *their* just claims were satisfied, he would not re-
“ ject any terms, which his conscience and honour
“ would suffer him to accept.”

Chapter the Twenty-second.

State of Portugal—Character of Sebastian—His Expedition to Africa—His Death—Is succeeded by his Great Uncle Henry—Various Competitors for the Succession—Prétensions of Philip—His Preparations—Death of Henry—Disgrace of the Duke of Alva—He is Appointed to the Command of the Army destined for Portugal—His Loyalty—Inexorable Disposition of Philip—The Portuguese proclaim Don Antonio King—Success of Alva—He drives Antonio out of Portugal—Submission of that Kingdom—Operations in the Netherlands—The Duke of Anjou is chosen Sovereign—Proscription of the Prince of Orange—The States abjure their Allegiance to Philip—Departure of Matthias—Relief of Cambray—The Duke of Anjou sets out for England—Returns with Succours from Elizabeth—Attempts on the Life of the Prince of Orange—Progress of the Prince of Parma—Perfidy of the Duke of Anjou—Prudent Counsel of the Prince of Orange—Rapid Success of the Spaniards—Death of the Duke of Anjou---Assassination of the Prince of Orange.

UNDER a long succession of Kings, who placed their glory in promoting the commerce of their subjects, and extending their discoveries through the remotest regions of the globe, Portugal had attained a degree of importance among the surrounding

rounding nations, from which the narrow limits of the kingdom, and the neighbourhood of the Spanish monarchy, seemed for ever to exclude her : besides establishing settlements in Africa, and the adjacent islands, her navigators had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, which no European mariner had ever attempted, and had penetrated boldly into almost every quarter of the eastern ocean, discovering lands, and founding cities; and not satisfied with their acquisitions in the east, they had turned their arms towards America, and had planted in Brasil the valuable colony of which they still retain possession.

John the Third, the last of those great monarchs under whose auspices the boundaries of the known world had been enlarged, was succeeded in the throne of Portugal by his grandson Sebastian, a child of only three years old. As the royal infant advanced to manhood, his subjects might, without flattery, admire his sprightly wit, his manly form, his daring spirit, and his superior address in all the accomplishments of a martial age. But the hopes which these splendid qualities inspired, were clouded by an intemperate thirst of fame, and a bigoted attachment to the Romish church; his governor, Don Alexis de Menezes, had perpetually celebrated the praises of his ancestors for their victories over the infidels of Africa and the east; and his tutor, Lewis de Camarra, a zealous Jesuit,

had been equally indefatigable to display the merits which arose from the propagation of the true faith. A youthful mind was easily dazzled by the brilliant prospect; and Sebastian believed that to him it was reserved to erect, under the torrid Zone, the triumphant cross of Christ, and the standard of Portugal.

He had early cherished the frantic project of transporting a royal army to India, and of rivaling the exploits of Alexander; but from this design he was diverted, not by the difficulties that opposed it, nor by the remonstrances of his counsellors, but by the distractions of Africa, which promised to his ambition a nearer and fairer harvest of glory. On the death of Abdalla, King of Morocco, his son, Muley Mahomet, had seized upon the crown, in contempt to an established law of succession, that the kingdom should devolve to the brother of the deceased monarch. A civil war ensued, and Mahomet, defeated in several battles, was compelled to leave his uncle Muley Moluc, a prince of great abilities and virtues, in possession of the throne. He, however, eluded the vengeance of the victor; crossed in safety the straits which divide Africa from Europe, and after a fruitless attempt to awaken the languid zeal of Philip, sought shelter in the court of Lisbon.

Sebastian embraced the royal fugitive as sent by the immediate interposition of providence to advance

vance the designs he had incessantly meditated. He not only engaged to pass into Africa in person, to restore him to the throne that he claimed, but he solicited in his behalf the other powers of Europe; in an interview with his uncle the King of Spain, though Philip laboured to dissuade him from the rash enterprise, he obtained from him the promise of fifty gallies, and five thousand veterans; and from the Prince of Orange he received the welcome supply of three thousand Germans.

A. D. 1578. With these troops, and ten thousand Portuguese, anxious to distinguish themselves under the eyes of their sovereign, Sebastian sailed from Portugal, and disembarked his followers at Tangier; his standard was joined by a few Moors, whom interest or affection still attached to the fortunes of Mahomet; and he boldly advanced towards the camp of his enemy, to decide, in a general engagement, the fate of the war.

Muley Moluc did not decline the proffered contest; sixty thousand Moslems marched beneath his banners; and though his body was enfeebled with disease his mind retained its full and native vigour. It was his last wish to exclude his rebellious nephew, and leave to his brother an undisputed crown; he was sensible of the rapid progress of his distemper; he dreaded the effect which his death might produce upon his troops; and he beheld
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with pleasure the signal for action displayed in the van of the army of Sebastian.

The light horse of the Moors were incapable in the first charge of sustaining the weight of the Christian cavalry, led on by their youthful sovereign; but the flight of his soldiers roused Moluc from the couch of indisposition; indignation supplied the place of strength; he mounted on horseback; rallied the fugitives, and led them back to the field; the remains of life were exhausted by the exertion; he retired to his tent, a fainting fit succeeded; and his last motion enjoined his officers to preserve the dangerous secret of his death: but his example had already decided the day; his troops were still persuaded that he was a spectator of their conduct; the Portuguese, the Spaniards, and Germans, fought with the most undaunted bravery; but they were oppressed by heat and numbers; their ranks were broken; and their destruction was inevitable; amidst the bloody conflict, Sebastian had been distinguished by his superior valour; three horses had been killed under him; his standard-bearer was slain; he was almost left alone; but he still refused to surrender to the Moors, who called out to him that they would save his life, "but you cannot," replied he, "preserve my honour;" the particulars of his fate have been darkly and doubtfully recorded; but it is most probable that he fell with his sword in his hand,

hand, unwilling to survive the calamity in which his rashness had involved his country.

An aged and feeble priest was the immediate heir to the unfortunate Sebastian; and the Cardinal Henry, the great uncle to the late monarch, ascended the vacant throne; his years and infirmities allowed not his subjects to indulge the hopes of a long reign; yet tenacious of a sceptre, that was falling from his hand, he refused to employ the few moments that remained, in securing the tranquillity of his people, by deciding on the claims of the cloud of pretenders to the succession who impatiently awaited the intelligence of his decease.

Of these the Duchess of Braganza, Philip of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, and Don Antonio, prior of Crato, were grandchildren of Emanuel the Great, the father of Henry. The first was daughter of Prince Edward, Emanuel's second son; the second of the Empress Isabella, his eldest daughter; the third of Beatrice his younger daughter; and the fourth of Lewis his youngest son; but the marriage of Lewis could never be proved; and though Henry preserved a studied silence respecting the pretensions of the other competitors, he had early pronounced the birth of Antonio to be illegitimate.

The obvious laws of primogeniture established the superiority of the claim of Philip over that of
the

the Duke of Savoy ; but even the partizans of the former acknowledged, that had the father of the Dukes of Braganza been alive, his title would have been indisputable ; but they maintained, since he had died without attaining possession of the throne, nothing but the degree of consanguinity to Emanuel ought to be regarded ; and as the Dukes and Philip were equal in that respect, the preference was due to a male before a female.— These arguments were supported by a manifesto, which was dispersed through Portugal, in which the people were exhorted to fix their hopes on the King of Spain, as their future sovereign ; and at the same time, under the pretence of an approaching rupture with the King of Morocco, Philip levied, throughout Spain and Italy, large bodies of troops, and assembled a numerous fleet.

A. D. 1580. The event justified the prudence of his preparations ; after a reign of little more than a twelvemonth, Henry expired, and left the nomination of a successor to five persons, to whom he committed the regency of the kingdom,

The authority of this new tribunal was far from being recognized by Philip ; his title, he said, was too clear to be either submitted to the regents or the states ; nor did he desire any judgment to be passed in confirmation of it. But however the regents might be inclined to acquiesce under his answer, the people were far from being disposed tamely

tamely to submit to his pretensions ; though the Duke of Breganza despaired of being able to assert the claim of his consort against so powerful an adversary, the prior of Crato was not restrained by the same apprehensions ; the natural aversion of the Portuguese to the dominion of Spain, was increased by the character of Philip ; no sooner did Antonio erect his standard, than he was joined by thousands of his countrymen ; and in Lisbon he was proclaimed King amidst the acclamations of the citizens.

To stem the torrent of popularity, thirty-five thousand veterans invaded Portugal under the command of the Duke of Alva. That nobleman, so long the zealous and faithful minister of his master's tyranny, had at length in his turn experienced the severe and inflexible temper of Philip.—His son, Don Garcia de Toledo, had, under a promise of a marriage, debauched one of the attendants of the Queen ; he had been condemned to prison until he should fulfil his engagement ; but he had not only found means, by the assistance of his father, to elude the vigilance of his guard, but by espousing his cousin, a daughter of the Marquis Villena, he had for ever broken the views of the King, and extinguished the hopes of the injured fair ; the resentment of Philip burst on the head of Alva ; he was banished from court, and confined to the castle of Uzeda ; nor could even the enemies of that nobleman refuse to condemn the
imperious

disposition of their sovereign, who, for so small an offence, treated with such harshness an old friend and servant.

But the death of Henry, and the danger to which the succession to the crown of Portugal was exposed, recalled to the mind of Philip the fidelity and abilities of Alva; he sent one of his secretaries to inquire whether his health still allowed him to undertake the command of an army; the loyalty of Alva superceded every resentment; he answered, without hesitation, that he was ready to devote the little remains of his strength to the service of his King; to whom he desired permission to pay his respects at Madrid. Yet so ungracious was this prince even to the minister he approved most, and so incapable of forgiving any offence, that he refused this trifling satisfaction; and having transmitted to him his instruction, he ordered him to join the army immediately. Those who had witnessed the arrogance of Alva in the Netherlands, were not sorry for the mortification he endured on this occasion; but they could not withhold the tribute of applause which was due to him on account of that invincible loyalty, which determined him, in the extremity of old age, to expose himself to all the hazards and hardships of war, in order to advance the interests of one who had already repaid him with so much ingratitude.

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The fate of Portugal and Antonio were decided in two battles ; the first was fought near the stream the Alcantera, where the Duke of Alva commanded in person, and the Portuguese were broken, with the loss of three thousand men, by the disciplined valour of their adversaries ; the capital immediately submitted to the victor ; but on the banks of the Duero, the theatre of many a bloody conflict between the Romans and Carthaginians, Antonio a second time, awaited the approach of the enemy ; he was not suffered to linger long in suspense ; with a chosen detachment of six thousand veterans, Sancio d'Avila pressed forwards to the encounter ; ten thousand peasants, hastily and rudely armed, were not capable of withstanding the charge of soldiers, whose reputation was the recompense of many a bloody conflict. From the disastrous field, which for ever overwhelmed his hopes, Antonio, with a small but faithful band, fled to Viani ; from a short repose in that city, he was roused by the approach of the Spaniards ; he embarked on board a trading vessel ; but he was driven back by a violent tempest ; and to elude the pursuit of the enemy, was obliged to disguise himself in the dress of a common sailor ; Though Philip promised a reward of eighty thousand ducats to any body who should deliver him into his hands, yet such was the aversion of the Portuguese to the Spanish government, and such their

their attachment to Antonio, that no person was tempted by the splendid bribe to betray the place of his retreat ; and he continued for some months concealed in the country between the Duero and the Minho, until he found an opportunity of escaping to France.

The defeat of Antonio, it may well be supposed, influenced the judgment of the regents : though Philip had affected to despise their decision, yet he now thought it prudent to fortify his title with their approbation. The example of the mother country was soon followed by the wealthy colonies which belonged to the crown of Portugal in America, Africa, and the Indies. The Azores alone, encouraged by the emissaries of Antonio, ventured to resist; they even defeated a body of Spanish troops which had been sent to reduce them. This gleam of prosperity called forth Antonio from his retreat in France ; by the connivance of the court of Paris, he was enabled, with sixty vessels, and six thousand soldiers, to sail for the Azores ; but he was attacked immediately on his arrival by a Spanish armament, under the Marquis de Croce ; and though he was so fortunate himself again to escape, the greatest part of his ships were taken or destroyed, and the inhabitants of the Azores were compelled to bend their necks to the Spanish yoke.

The

The accession of strength that Philip had acquired by uniting the dominions of Portugal to those of Spain, was far from intimidating the stubborn spirits of the Flemings. Their habitual phlegm was quickened by the fire and commanding genius of the Prince of Orange; the union of Utrecht, indeed, had not yet been productive of the advantages which William had expected; there was no common centre of power and authority established; the troops were scattered in small bodies throughout the provinces; they were often left without pay; and in return, indulged themselves in the plunder of the inhabitants; Matthias, a young man of no experience, bore the name, but was incapable of discharging the duties, of governor; and some speedy and vigorous remedy was demanded to prevent the whole frame of the confederacy from falling into pieces; it was from the prudence, the wisdom, and the courage of the Prince of Orange alone that such a remedy could be derived; nor did he, in this hour of diffidence and distrust, deceive the public opinion; after tracing the source of the disorders which they laboured under, and describing the mode in which they ought to be treated, he exhorted the deputies to reject all feeble palliatives; to cut boldly the gordian knot; and renouncing all hopes of conciliating Philip, to transfer their allegiance to

some other prince, who was both able and willing to defend them.

Many of the Catholic deputies were far from entering into his views with the same ardour as the Protestants. They trembled, in such a revolution, for the security of their religion; they expatiated on the greatness of Philip's power, and the danger to which the states would expose themselves, by adding so great an affront to their former provocations; and they observed, they could not concur in so daring a measure, without violating their oath of allegiance, since the King of Spain was unquestionably their lawful sovereign; they had all solemnly recognized his right; and the provinces were his inheritance, which he had derived from a long uninterrupted line of illustrious ancestors.

It was urged in reply, by the Prince of Orange and St. Aldegonde, that if the rights of princes were to be investigated, they would be found in most of the kingdoms of Europe to have been derived from the will of their subjects; a prince was indeed superior to each individual in the state, but neither his interest, nor his pleasure was to be put in balance with the security and happiness of the whole; on the contrary, he might be judged, and even punished, for his abuse of power, by the supreme council of the nation; especially in the Netherlands, where, till lately, both the name of King, and the measure of obedience which Kings commonly

monly require, were utterly unknown; in the Netherlands, the engagements between the prince and people were strictly mutual; and in engagements of this kind, it was a clear and universal maxim, that the infidelity of one party absolves the other from its obligation.

The feeble opposition of the Catholics was drowned amidst the applause of the Protestants; and it was determined by a majority of the assembly, to reject for ever the authority of Philip, and to confer upon some foreign prince the sovereignty of the provinces, with all the prerogatives which had been enjoyed by the house of Burgundy; and they were influenced in their choice of the Duke of Anjou, not only by the recommendation of the Prince of Orange, but by the declaration of the Queen of England, who assured them of her support, in case they placed themselves under the protection of a person with whom she had so much reason to expect to live upon amicable terms.

The sovereignty of the Low Countries was too splendid an allurements to be resisted by a prince, vain, rash, and ambitious; and Anjou readily subscribed the treaty that was presented to him by the ambassadors of the states. The principal articles of it were, that in case the duke should die without issue, the states might elect another sovereign, and that the Netherlands should in no event be annexed to the Crown of France; that if the Duke

left several sons, it should remain to the states to select from them his successor; that he should maintain inviolate all the rights and privileges of the people; that he should annually summon a general assembly; that he should fix his residence in the provinces; that if his affairs should, on any occasion, call him thence, he should nominate as governor in his absence a native of the Netherlands, who was to be approved by the states; that he should make no innovation in religion; but afford his protection impartially to the Protestants and Catholics; that he should confirm all the treaties that subsist between the states and foreign powers; and that he should not himself form any new alliance, without their consent.

The haughty spirit of Philip was inflamed by this new instance of the determined opposition of his Flemish subjects; his indignation was chiefly directed against the Prince of Orange, to whom he justly attributed it; and his dark mind suggested a mode of vengeance, as unworthy of his rank, as it was congenial to his perfidious disposition; having fruitlessly attempted by negotiation and artifice to deliver himself from an adversary who had baffled for so many years his ablest generals and bravest veterans, he had recourse to the ignoble expedient of arming the hand of some desperate assassin against his life; he published an edict of proscription, in which he accused the
Prince

Prince of Orange of having excited and fomented the spirit of discord which had so long distracted the Netherlands; and he promised to any person who should deliver him up, dead or alive, the sum of twenty-five thousand crowns, besides the full pardon of whatever crimes, however enormous, they had been previously guilty.

A. D. 1581. The magnanimity of William allowed him not to take any other notice of this unmanly attempt, than by a public vindication of his own conduct, which was drawn up in a strain of indignant eloquence, and exposed the treachery and cruelty of his persecutor. But the states indulged more effectually their resentment; and while they expressed their grateful sense of the many eminent services which the prince had rendered to the commonwealth, by an act which was unanimously passed in an assembly of the deputies for Brabant, Guelderland, Zutphen, Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Friesland; they pronounced Philip to have forfeited for ever all authority over the Netherlands; and though the public acts had hitherto ran in his name, they forbade in future all judges and magistrates to use his arms or seal, and required them by oath to bind themselves to oppose him and his adherents, to the utmost of their power.

The election of the Duke of Anjou, and the abjuration of Philip, were soon followed by the de-

parture of Matthias; the latter had in vain exerted his influence to persuade the states to make choice of him for their sovereign; it is probable, however, that he was reconciled to their decision by the remonstrances of the Prince of Orange, and by the persuasive arguments of an annual stipend of fifty thousand guilders, which he condescended to accept.

It was not to the administration of the Netherlands that the ambitious hopes of the Duke of Anjou were confined. He was inflamed by the prospect of obtaining the hand of Elizabeth; and the Queen of England, desirous of checking the power of Philip, yet cautious of committing herself to open hostilities, embraced the opportunity of exciting the Duke to the defence of the Flemings; though deprived of the flower of his army, by the recall of the Spanish and Italian veterans, the Prince of Parma, with the Walloon troops that followed his standard, had formed the siege of Cambray; and for the relief of that city, the eyes of the states were anxiously directed towards their new sovereign. But before the duke could embark in this enterprise, it was necessary he should allay the flames of religious discord, which raged again through the kingdom of France; his proffered mediation was readily accepted by Henry, who, by alternately professing to patronise each, had lost the confidence of both factions, and beheld his
Catholic

Catholic subjects range themselves under the banners of the Duke of Guise, while the Protestants avowed their open attachment to the King of Navarre. Both had exhausted their strength in various efforts, without either acquiring an ascendancy, and a treaty was concluded, which established the reformed in the free exercise of their faith, and allowed the chivalry of France, impatient of rest, to partake the hopes of the Duke of Anjou. With twelve thousand foot, and four thousand horse, the latter pressed forwards to the relief of Cambray. The Prince of Parma retired on the approach of this new adversary; who entered the city in triumph, was saluted by the inhabitants as the protector of their freedom; and after reducing Cateau-Cambresis, embarked for England, to solicit the hand and support of Elizabeth.

A. D. 1582. From the Queen of England the Duke received the strongest marks of esteem, and even of affection; and though her prudence afterwards retracted the promises into which she had been betrayed by his assiduous flattery, she furnished him with a considerable sum of money, and a numerous fleet to second his enterprises in the Low Countries; early in the month of February he arrived at Flushing; and thence proceeded with fifty ships of war to Antwerp; the banks of the Scheld, the entrance into the town, and the avenues which led to the palace, were lined by

above twenty thousand citizens in arms; and no expence was spared which a wealthy commercial city could afford to express its respect and attachment; after having sworn to observe the rights and privileges of the states, he received in return their oath of allegiance; and amidst the acclamations of the people, entered on the duties of his station.

But the joy which his arrival had diffused, was soon overcast by an attempt which was made, not many days after his inauguration, upon the life of the Prince of Orange; the design was first conceived in Spain by a man of the name of Isonca, and by him it was suggested to Gasper Anastro, a banker of Antwerp, of desperate fortune; to induce Anastro to undertake the bloody purpose, Isonca transmitted to him a bond, signed by Philip, in which the King promised to pay him eighty thousand ducats, as soon as the assassination should be perpetrated. But Anastro's own courage was not equal to the enterprize; and he communicated Isonca's proposal to John Jauregui, a young Biscayan, and a menial servant in his family, whose gloomy and intrepid disposition pointed him out as the proper associate and instrument of the guilty project. The daring fanatic entered with alacrity into the scheme. "I am ready," said he, "to perform instantly what the King desires; I despise equally the proffered reward, and the danger to which I shall be exposed, for I know
" that

“ that I shall die ; I only ask that you will assist me
“ with your prayers to God, and employ your in-
“ terest with the King to provide for my father in
“ his old age.” The assurances of Timmerman, a
Catholic priest, that he would merit heaven by the
deed, stimulated his impatience ; as he spoke the
German language fluently, he easily found admittance
into the castle ; he watched the opportunity
when the Prince retired from table ; and with a
steady hand discharged a pistol at his head. The
ball entered a little beneath his right ear, and
passing under his palate and upper teeth, came out
on the opposite side. For a moment William was
deprived of his senses, but he no sooner recovered
than he called to his attendants to save the
life of the assassin ; the order was however issued
too late ; and the imprudent zeal of his guards had
already dispatched him.

The news of the disaster had in the mean time
spread through Antwerp ; in the first instant of an-
guish and despair, it was rumoured that William
was no more, and that the French had been the
authors of his murder. The citizens poured in
crowds from every quarter ; and flew to the palace,
where the Duke of Anjou resided, to indulge
their vengeance. A note from the prince dissipated
their anxiety, and convinced them of the injustice
of their suspicions. A paper that was found in the
pocket of *Jauregui*, discovered his accomplices ;
Anastro

Anastro had fled ; but his secretary and Timmerman the priest were seized, and having confessed their guilt, were condemned to suffer death.

William's recovery was doubtful for some time, on account of the difficulty which the physicians found in stopping the effusion of blood ; but after all regular applications had failed, they directed a number of persons to succeed one another in pressing the lips of the wound with their thumbs, for the space of several days and nights, without intermission ; and this expedient proved at length successful. In the mean time the operations of war were resumed ; the retreat of the Prince of Parma from Cambray had convinced the Walloons, that with their native forces they could not withstand the confederated provinces, supported by France and England ; they were again prevailed on to consent to the recall of the veterans of Spain and Italy ; the arrival of these enabled the Prince of Parma to take the field with a considerable army ; and before the close of Autumn, he had retaken Cateau-Cambresis, reduced Ninove and Gaesbec, and insulted Brussels.

A. D. 1583. His success roused the united states to new exertions ; their preparations were worthy of a people who struggled for religious and civil freedom ; they raised their annual revenue from about two millions of guilders to four ; they maintained, besides their native troops, numerous
bands

bands of British, French, and German adventurers; but their chief hopes were reposed on the Duke of Anjou; though that prince could not prevail on his brother Henry to engage in open hostilities with Spain, he had obtained from him a detachment of about eight thousand veterans, who were conducted into the Netherlands by the Marechal Biron; and with such a reinforcement, and with the advantage of the counsels of the experienced general who commanded it, he might have aspired to have checked at least the career of the Prince of Parma.

But the mind of the Duke of Anjou was occupied by a far different object; his worthless favourites had already persuaded him that the authority which had been intrusted to him by the states was too limited for his honour or dignity; they had proposed to him to oppress by fraud the very freedom he had been summoned to defend; and under the pretence of mutiny, to encourage the French troops to rise in arms, and to seize the different towns into which they had been admitted. Without communicating his intentions to Biron, the Duke of Anjou readily embraced the counsel that was offered him, and determined to carry it immediately into execution.

He was sensible of the importance of Antwerp, and resolved to direct his first attempt against that city; he had quartered his troops in the neighbouring

bouring villages, and had assembled round his person the French, in whom he could place the greatest confidence; it was his design, with his body guards, to have seized the gate nearest to the palace, and silently to have introduced his army in the night; but an obscure report of his project had been circulated among the citizens; the streets were barricadoed, the whole town illuminated; and the inhabitants remained under arms. Though conscious that his counsels had been betrayed, the duke suspended, but did not abandon, the perfidy he meditated; a night of tranquillity had in some measure allayed the jealousy of the people; in the morning, attended with a numerous retinue in arms, he quitted the palace, under pretence of reviewing his troops in the suburbs; but no sooner had he passed the gate and the drawbridge, than his attendants fell upon the sentinels, who sought refuge in the neighbouring guard-house; at the same moment, near four thousand French rushed in and spread themselves sword in hand, through the town, exclaiming “may the mass flourish, “the city is taken!”

At the ungrateful sound, the citizens started from the security into which they had relapsed; they flew to arms: and the memory of the devastations which they had been formerly exposed to from the Spaniards, inspired them with strength and resolution; while they pressed upon the assailants
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in front, the sentinels falling from their retreat in the rear, let down the portcullis ; the French were oppressed by numbers ; a body who had mounted the ramparts, were put to the sword, or thrown head-long from the walls in the presence of Anjou himself ; who, astonished at the event of the day, after a fruitless attempt to burst open the gates, was compelled to resign his countrymen to that fate in which his own treachery and ambition had involved them, and to seek shelter within the frontiers of France.

Fifteen hundred French had perished the victims of this wild and perfidious project ; above two thousand were made prisoners ; and these were principally rescued from the hands of the enraged inhabitants by the Prince of Orange ; who, though still labouring under the effects of his wound, had, on the first intelligence of the attack, mounted on horseback, and with part of the garrison, had equally contributed to check the progress of the French, and to restrain the resentment of the citizens. His presence and counsels hushed the tumult ; but though the tranquillity of Antwerp was re-established, the perfidy of the Duke of Anjou became the object of immediate deliberation in the states ; in that assembly the Prince of Orange supported the high reputation of wisdom and prudence which he had so justly acquired ; he acknowledged that Anjou, by his recent treachery, had

had forfeited all title to the sovereignty they had conferred; yet that they must either enter into terms of accommodation with him, or submit to the King of Spain, or trust in future to their own strength; there was a time, he observed, when the people of the Netherlands might have established themselves in freedom and independence, when, in defiance of Philip, they might have expelled from the provinces his brother Don John of Austria; but that transient moment of union had long been over; and a formidable Spanish army, added he, seconded by those who were once our friends, is at our gates, and if, even with the assistance of the French troops, we have been unable to stop the progress of the enemy, what hopes ought we to indulge, after the retreat of so powerful an ally? In our reconciliation with the Duke, appears to me our only means of safety; but at the same time his late misconduct ought to teach us additional caution; and the danger to which Antwerp has been exposed instructs us to require from every officer or soldier admitted into our garrisons an oath of allegiance and fidelity to the states.

Though the populace, inflamed with indignation at the late bloody scenes they had witnessed, were incapable of listening to the voice of reason, the arguments of the Prince of Orange were deeply impressed on the minds of the deputies; and they
were

were rendered more weighty by the rapid success of the Prince of Parma. That celebrated commander had vigilantly observed, and dexterously improved, the moment of dissension; he had reduced Dunkirk and Nieuport, Dixmude and Menin; had occupied by surprise Zutphen, and by fraud, Bruges; every hour contracted the territories, and diminished the hopes of the states; and their last dependence was placed on the return of the Duke of Anjou; the states had consented again to acknowledge him as their sovereign; and they anxiously expected his arrival, at the head of a numerous army, with which his brother Henry had at length promised to supply him.

A. D. 1584. But even of this resource, which necessity alone could recommend, they were soon deprived. The hardships to which the Duke had been subjected in his retreat from Antwerp, had impaired his constitution; and the passions of shame and disappointment had accelerated the progress of disease. While he exulted in the new prospects which were opened to his ambition, the visions of future grandeur were dissipated by the stroke of death; and the object of pity to his friends, and of derision to his enemies, he breathed his last at Chateau-Thierry, in the thirtieth year of his age.

The regret which his death at this critical juncture occasioned, was lost in a second blow, more important and more fatal. The guilty project
which

which had failed in the hand of Jauregui, was successfully executed by that of Balthazar Gerard; this unhappy wretch was a native of Villefans, in Burgundy; and by a well-affected zeal for the reformed religion, had gained the confidence of William; he had been placed by the latter in the train of the embassy, from the states to France; but his gratitude yielded to his avarice; and by the murder of his patron, he aspired to merit the bounty of Philip. Where no distrust was entertained, no obstacle could occur in the execution of the design; he was admitted, on the pretence of demanding a passport, and discharged a pistol, loaded with three balls, into the body of the prince; the last words of William were expressive of the piety and patriotism, which had distinguished him through life; "God have mercy upon me, and this afflicted people;" and he instantly expired, in the presence of his wife, the unfortunate Louisa de Coligny, whose severe destiny condemned her to behold the murder of her second husband, after having witnessed on the bloody eve of Bartholomew, the tragical end of her father, the Admiral, and her first consort, the amiable Teligny.

The justice of Heaven permitted not the assassin to reap the harvest of his crime; his flight was intercepted by the guards of the prince; and he was condemned to suffer whatever torments an injured people could inflict; and even humanity will excuse

cuse the satisfaction with which the multitude gazed on the agonies, whose guilty hand had robbed them of their friend, their guardian, and their parent.

Chapter the Twenty-third.

Conduct of the States on the Death of the Prince of Orange—Operations of the Prince of Parma—Reduction of Antwerp—Alliance of the States with England—Appointment of the Earl of Leicester—His Measures feeble—His Intrigues—He Resigns his office of Governor General—Depredations of the English in America—Invincible Armada—Fate of it—Prince Maurice surprises Breda—State of France—The Prince of Parma marches to the Relief of Paris—New Advantages gained during his Absence by the States—His second Expedition into France—Relieves Rouen—Eludes Henry—His Death---Commutations in Spain--Intrigues of Philip in France—Ernest, Archduke of Austria, appointed Governor of the Netherlands—He dies soon after—Is succeeded by the Count de Fuentes—His Exploits—He is removed, and the Archduke Albert is appointed Governor—He takes Hulst—The English plunder Cadiz—Events in France—Pecuniary Distress of Philip—The French recover Amiens—Treaty of Peace between Henry and Philip—Philip transfers the Sovereignty of the Netherlands to his Daughter Isabella, and the Archduke Albert---Illness of Philip—His Death—His Character.

A. D. 1584. **T**HE fatal blow which dismissed the Prince of Orange to his grave, overwhelmed the United Provinces with the most gloomy apprehensions; the Count of Buren, the eldest son of William, still continued a prisoner at Madrid; and
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It was to his second son, Prince Maurice, then only eighteen years old, that the States transferred those high honours which had been borne by his father ; but whatever expectations they might fondly cherish from the dawn of his genius, his inexperience suffered him not to enter the lists against the Prince of Parma ; Farnese was equally calculated to shine in the cabinet and the field ; by the most alluring promises of future indulgence, he had endeavoured to recall the confederates to their allegiance ; but no sooner was he convinced that every other consideration was lost in their resentment for the murder of their protector, than he put his troops in motion ; his vigilance and address insured success ; he reduced Vilvorden and Dendremonde ; he was received into Ghent and Brussels ; and in fulfilling the treaty which he had subscribed with the inhabitants of the latter cities, he acquired not only the character of scrupulous integrity, but of moderation. Of the sum of three hundred thousand crowns, which the Ghentese had consented to pay, he was satisfied with two hundred thousand ; and though in the act of indemnity which he had published, six persons more obnoxious than the rest had been excepted, he required from them only a pecuniary fine.

A.D. 1584, Yet while the greatest part of Brabant and Flanders seemed again to court the yoke, Antwerp, confiding in the advan-

tages of her situation, the strength of her walls, and the valour of her citizens, had rejected the summons of the Prince of Parma; the splendid prize had long tempted the ambition of Farnese; and it had been the prediction of the Prince of Orange, that should he undertake the siege of that capital, with the small army he commanded, it would prove his ruin; but William was no more; the factions which had been scarcely restrained by his presence, blazed forth with increase of violence on his death; and the dissensions of the confederates inflamed the hopes of their enemies. In a general council of his officers, the Prince of Parma laid before them the design that he meditated; nor was deterred from the enterprise by the obstacles that they suggested; instead of directing his efforts against the solid walls and lofty towers, which seemed to deride the thunder of his batteries, he occupied every avenue that led to the city, and awaited the slow but certain effects of famine. Six months were diligently employed in throwing a bridge over the broad stream of the Scheld, and the winter had elapsed in the arduous labour, when the return of spring roused to action the combatants. The inhabitants of Antwerp were animated by the presence of St. Aldegonde; Giambelli, a celebrated Italian engineer, had been prevailed on to share their dangers, and to devote his skill to their service; and they still flattered themselves that the
fleet

fleet of the confederates might break down the bridge, and restore the free navigation of the Scheld. But the vigilance of Farnese was extended to every part, and his foresight had provided against every occurrence; the sallies of St. Aldegonde were repulsed; the mines and machines of Giambelli were detected or eluded; and the confederates, who had sailed to the relief of, were compelled, after a bloody struggle, to resign the besieged to their fate. The resources of the latter were exhausted; the stock of provisions which remained, was scarcely equal to the consumption of three days, when they consented to subscribe the capitulation which the Prince of Parma had offered.—The terms of it were more favourable than even those which had been granted to Ghent and Bruges; the Protestants, who still continued averse to the ancient church, were allowed four years to adjust their private concerns: and though the wealth of Antwerp presented a strong temptation to the necessities of Farnese, he restrained his demand to a fine of four hundred thousand guilders, to satisfy the immediate importunities of his troops.

A considerable fleet, which the Prince of Parma found in the harbour of Antwerp, was not deemed the least valuable of his acquisitions; he was enabled, by the possession of it, to encounter the squadrons of the maritime provinces, which had so long insulted the flag of Spain; the states became

each hour more sensible of their inability to defend themselves without the assistance of some foreign power; they again directed their eyes to France; but the crown tottered already on the head of Henry the Third; his Catholic subjects had combined in a solemn league, which trampled on the authority of their sovereign; the Duke of Guise, whose ambition had projected it, had entered into a treaty, offensive and defensive, with Philip; and though there were not wanting among the counsellors of Henry some who exhorted him, by foreign war, to find employment for the restless spirit of his own subjects, and for the forces of the Catholic King, yet the advice was far from suiting the temporising and intriguing temper of the Queen Mother; and the King himself neither possessed the resolution nor address which it required to stem or divert the torrent of faction.

From Paris the negotiations of the states were transferred to London. The most sagacious ministers of that court differed in their advice to their sovereign; while one party urged the danger of encouraging a people to revolt from their allegiance, another represented that the whole tenor of Philip's conduct plainly proved he aimed at extinguishing the Protestant religion throughout Europe; that as soon as he should have subdued the Netherlands, he would undoubtedly fall with his united force on England; and that since an open

rupture with Spain was unavoidable, sound policy required the English to fortify themselves by the acquisition of those important provinces of Flanders which courted their dominion.

Among these opposite counsels, Elizabeth, apprehensive of the consequences attending each extreme, was inclined to steer a middle course; and the event justified her penetration in adopting a system which has seldom been crowned with success. She was determined to resist the total subjection of the revolted provinces, whose interests she deemed so closely connected with her own; but she refused to accept a sovereignty, which would have exposed her among her neighbours to the reproach of ambition and usurpation; she therefore concluded a treaty with the states, on the following conditions; that she should send over an army to their assistance of five thousand foot, and a thousand horse, and pay them during the war; that the general, and two others whom she should appoint, should be admitted into the council of the states; that neither party should make peace without the consent of the other; that her expences should be refunded after the conclusion of the war, and that the towns of Flushing and the Brille, with the castle of Rammekins, should in the mean time be delivered into her hands by way of security.

A. D. 1586. In consequence of this treaty, the English auxiliaries crossed the sea to Holland, under the conduct of the Earl of Leicester; in every town through which he passed, the inhabitants expressed their joy by acclamations and triumphal arches, as if his presence and the Queen's protection had brought them the most certain deliverance. But they soon discovered that nobleman to be unworthy of the high admiration which they had profusely and precipitately bestowed; the splendid qualities of Elizabeth, as a sovereign, were alloyed with the foibles of a woman; it was the address and graceful person of Leicester that had preferred him to her favours; but he possessed neither courage, capacity, moderation, nor integrity; he gained, indeed, some small advantage over the Spanish army which had undertaken the siege of Grave; but that place was soon after surrendered by the cowardice of the Governor; and the Prince of Parma, availing himself of his superiority in the field, reduced Venlo, carried by assault Nuys, and invested Rhimberg; to divert him from the prosecution of the latter enterprise, Leicester menaced Zutphen; Farnese, sensible of the importance of that town, abandoned the tottering walls of Rhimberg, to march to the relief of his friends; an action between the van of his army and the English was chiefly memorable for the death of Sir Philip Sidney, who is described by the writers of that age

as the ornament and delight of his court; but though in this skirmish the confederates claimed the honour of victory, they were in their return compelled to retreat before the Prince of Parma, who, after reinforcing the garrison of Zutphen, retired to Brussels, and dispersed his troops in winter quarters.

The disappointment which, in the course of the campaign, had attended those sanguine expectations that the states had formed, from the nomination of Leicester, was heightened by the conduct of the latter in a civil capacity; in the moment of premature confidence, they had invested him with the dignity of Governor General, but he had abused the trust by his rapacity and arrogance; though new taxes were levied with extreme rigour throughout the provinces, the German auxiliaries remained unpaid, and the minions of the Governor rioted in the wealth which had been extorted from an indignant people; the representations of the states were received with coldness or contempt; the applause which had at first been hastily imparted, gave way to a general cry of discontent; and Leicester, wearied by their clamours, instead of redressing the grievances which he could not deny, privately embarked for England.

A. D. 1587. From the complaints of the states, he found shelter in the fond partiality of his sovereign; and the provinces, conscious that on the
friendship

friendship of Elizabeth rested their hopes of independence, consented again to receive her favourite; he crossed the sea a second time, with a numerous reinforcement, and accompanied by a splendid train of nobility; at Flushing he was met by Prince Maurice, who, during his absence, had been intrusted with the principal command of the army of the confederates; the distress of Sluys, urged them to immediate action; though famine, and pestilence had combined to desolate the southern provinces, though the most industrious of the natives, attached to the Protestant church, had abandoned their ancient habitations to enjoy their religious principles in Holland and Zealand, yet such was the diligence of the Prince of Parma, and so fruitful were the resources of his genius, that he had drawn from the deserted country a powerful army, and had laid siege to Sluys. The garrison and citizens had defended themselves with undaunted bravery; but above one half had perished in the unequal struggle; and their magazines were nearly exhausted, when the arrival of Leicester inspired them with hopes of immediate relief; at the head of an army not inferior to that of the Prince of Parma, the British General advanced towards Sluys; but he was easily discouraged by the appearance of the works of the besiegers; and on the intelligence of the approach of Farnese to give him battle, he precipitately retired, towards
Zealand,

Zealand, and resigned the inhabitants of Sluys to their fate ; who found in their own despair, and the prudent generosity of their enemy, a more favourable capitulation than under their extreme distress they had expected.

In proportion as Leicester was feeble and inactive in the field, he was restless and intriguing in the cabinet ; he secretly laboured to suppress the council of the states, and to erect on the ruins of their authority his own. But the designs he had entered into, and the cabals he had formed, were pierced by the eye of Maurice, whose early vigilance and penetration were scarce inferior to those of his father. In Leyden, a plot had been framed to give him possession of that important city ; but the conspirators were detected, condemned, and executed. The failure of the guilty project, and the fate of his partizans, probably hastened the departure of Leicester ; he embarked again for England ; the favour of his mistress screened him from the punishment he merited ; but her prudence withdrew him from a trust to which he was unequal ; and he soon after resigned his office of Governor General.

However the judgment of Elizabeth might be impeached by her partiality for Leicester, on every other occasion her vigour and manly spirit were the admiration of the nations of Europe. When she embraced the defence of the United Provinces,
she

he determined to carry the war into the most distant and defenceless part of the dominions of Philip; Sir Francis Drake, whose renown as a seaman will ever be dear to his country, sailed with a squadron of twenty ships to attack the Spanish settlements in the West Indies; he plundered St. Jago, St. Domingo, and Carthagena; he destroyed on the coast of Florida the towns of St. Anthony and St. Helen's; and the riches with which he returned inflamed the spirit of adventure, and excited his countrymen to more daring enterprises.

From the moment that the flames of civil war were kindled in the Netherlands, the situation of Spain was overshadowed by the importance of the revolted provinces; the achievements of the Prince of Parma obscured from view the inactive tyrant, who safely issued from his palace his bloody edicts of proscription; but the bold and hostile measures of Elizabeth roused Philip from his dream of grandeur and security; the Castilian pride was awakened by the wounds which had been inflicted on their wealthy colonies in the West; the Spaniards had listened, without emotion, to the bloody deeds which had depopulated the cities of Flanders; they had, in the conquest of Portugal, indulged the memory of their ancient exploits, and martial virtue; but the enterprises of the English in America taught them to feel in their turn the calamities of war, and instructed them
that

that they were not invulnerable. They were inflamed by an ardent thirst of vengeance; and the bosoms of the Prince and his subjects were fired by the same passion; in all the ports of Sicily, Naples, Spain, and Portugal, vessels of an uncommon size and force were constructed; naval stores were bought, provisions amassed, and armies assembled; and the tragical fate of Mary, Queen of Scotland, who having sought shelter in England from the fury of a rude and turbulent people, inflamed with a sanguinary zeal for the doctrines of Calvinism, had, after the farce of a public trial, perished on the scaffold, the victim of the female jealousy of Elizabeth, quickened the preparations of Philip.

The magnitude of the ships, and the ample manner in which they were equipped, were expressed in the name of the *invincible armada*; and in the contemplation of their superior strength, even the cautious temper of Philip yielded to the flattering assurances of his courtiers, that the conquest of England would be the certain recompence of his exertions. The King of Scotland, it was supposed, would be impatient to avenge the death of his mother; the Catholics, it was asserted, would arise in crowds, at the summons of their general protector; nor could it be credited that the undisciplined valour of the English could withstand the shock of thirty thousand veterans,
who

who were to pass the sea from the Netherlands, and whose courage was to be directed by the experience of the Prince of Parma.

A. D. 1588. Such were the fond expectations of Spain and Philip, when the invincible armada, about the latter end of May, under the command of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, sailed from the port of Lisbon; the tempest which it immediately encountered was, by the minds of a superstitious people, considered as an omen of the future disasters to which it was destined; but the damages it had sustained were quickly repaired in the friendly harbour of Corunna; and hope was restored, by the prosperous voyage in which it gained the English coast. A fleet of an hundred and thirty vessels, of which ninety exceeded in bulk any Europe had beheld before, was navigated by above eight thousand mariners, and defended by near twenty thousand veterans; yet the lofty masts and swelling sails of the Spanish galleons were far from impressing their hardy adversaries with terror; the English courted the attack; the inferior size of their vessels was compensated by their activity, and by the expertness of their sailors; and in the first action, two of the largest Spanish ships were separated from the rest of the fleet, and surrounded and made prizes of by the English. The ensuing day twelve more were either taken or destroyed; a series of calamities followed; baffled in every encounter,

encounter, the Duke of Medina Sidonia no longer aspired to conquest; the humble hope of safety remained, and to avoid an enemy, whom he now dreaded as much as he had formerly despised, he determined to steer northwards, to circle the British islands, and to endeavour, by the ocean, to gain the harbours of Spain. In this attempt he was exposed to new dangers; nor even when the pursuit of the victors was suspended, did his difficulties end; a dreadful storm dispersed his fleet near the Orkneys; several of the ships were wrecked on the coast of Scotland; and the shattered remnant that escaped, filled Spain with accounts of the desperate valour of the English, and of the tempestuous violence of the seas which protect them.

Such was the fate of an armament on which had been profusely lavished the treasures of both the Indies; but though the ambition of Philip had been severely mortified by the event, he concealed his emotions, under the appearance of magnanimity and affected resignation to the will of Heaven; he publicly returned thanks to God that the calamity had not been greater; he thanked the Duke of Medina Sidonia for the zeal he had displayed in his service; and while the voice of envy accused the Prince of Parma of negligence, Philip rejected with indignation the unworthy calumny, and

and honoured that illustrious commander with fresh marks of esteem and confidence.

A. D. 1589. The gratitude of Farnese, who by his father's death, had succeeded to the ducal title, stimulated him to new exertions; but in the want of remittances, he already felt the effects of the late enterprize, in which Philip had engaged contrary to his remonstrances; and he found in Prince Maurice an adversary who neither was to be deceived nor intimidated; he was indeed admitted into Gertrudenberg, one of the strongest towns of Holland, by the treachery of the garrison; but he was baffled in an attempt on the island of Bergen: he was repulsed from the walls of Heusden, and Romersval; his chagrin was augmented by the decline of his health; the symptoms of a dropsy compelled him to try the waters of Spa; and on his return from that place, he found his army, part of which he had left under the care of Count Mansveldt, in a state of mutiny; they demanded with loud and imperious clamours their arrears; and were with difficulty appeased by the distribution of whatever money the duke could raise, and the promise of more punctual payment in future. This sedition, the first that had happened since he had commanded in the Netherlands, sensibly affected the mind of Farnese; and while he laboured under the impression of it, he was,
from

from the vigilance and enterprising genius of Prince Maurice, exposed to a new mortification.

On the banks of the Merck arises Breda, one of the strongest and most important cities of Brabant; it had been provided, by the caution of the Duke of Parma, with a numerous garrison of Italians; but the absence of the Governor at Gertrudenberg, where he also held the principal command, suggested to Adrian Vendenberg, the master of a boat, with which he occasionally supplied the town with firing, the idea of surprising it; he communicated his plan to Prince Maurice, who readily embraced it; the boat was loaded in appearance with turf; a floor of planks was fixed at the distance of several feet from the bottom; and beneath this, seventy soldiers were concealed, under the command of an officer of approved fidelity. The bark was admitted without suspicion; in the dead of night, when the garrison were drowned in wine and sleep, the soldiers rushed from their retreat; they opened the gates to a large body of troops, who had been silently conducted to their support by Prince Maurice; the Italians were oppressed or dismayed; and the standard of the states was erected in triumph on the walls of Breda.

While the Duke of Parma struggled with the difficulties of his situation, the King of Spain was occupied in meditating new acquisitions; though incapable of protecting his own coasts and colo-

nies from the predatory incursions of the English, his ambition overlooked his weakness, and his desires were inflamed by the splendid temptation of the crown of France. The Duke of Guise had fallen the victim of his own presumption; but his death had not broken the spirit of the league; they had chosen his brother the Duke of Mayenne as their chief; they had renewed their intrigues and correspondence with Philip; they had driven from the capital their sovereign; the daring and treasonable discourses of their popular preachers had armed the hand of a fanatic against his life; and at St. Cloud the unfortunate Henry the Third, after a turbulent and ignominious reign, was assassinated by James Clement, a Jacobin friar.

His death transferred the sceptre of France from the house of Valois to that of Bourbon; but though Henry, King of Navarre, was the undoubted heir by descent, the league refused to acquiesce, under the authority of a Protestant King; the feeble and aged Cardinal Bourbon was proclaimed in Paris by the Duke of Mayenne; but the more violent members of the league had concurred with reluctance in the nomination, and had privately solicited Philip to aspire to the crown.

The King of Spain was too cautious openly to reveal his hopes, yet he could not entirely resist the flattering prospect of ascending himself, amidst the rage of contending factions, the throne of
France,

France; or of seating on it his eldest daughter Isabella. He confined his immediate pretensions to the ambiguous title of Protector of the League; in that quality he had liberally supplied the confederated Catholics with troops and money; and when in the battle of Yvri, the Duke of Mayenne was forced to yield to the superior genius of Henry the Fourth, and the latter, with his victorious army, had invested Paris, Philip was determined to act with vigour in the support of the faction he had espoused, and to attempt the relief of the capital of France.

A. D. 1590. He was probably in some measure influenced to this enterprise by the critical death of the Cardinal Bourbon, which removed one obstacle to his ambition; and he sent orders to the Duke of Parma to conduct his army into France with the utmost expedition. Farnese would gladly have diverted Philip from the imprudent design; he represented to him the dangerous consequences with which the absence of his troops from the Netherlands would be attended; and he attempted to make him sensible of the extreme uncertainty of those advantages which he expected to reap from the friendship of the league; but his remonstrances were ineffectual; and the only promise he could obtain, was, that as soon as he had relieved Paris, he should be permitted to return to the Low Countries.

In obedience to the orders of the King of Spain, about the beginning of August, the Duke of Parma quitted Bruffels, at the head of fourteen thousand veteran infantry, and three thousand cavalry. As he advanced by slow marches, it was not until the latter end of the month, that he arrived at Meaux, about ten leagues from Paris. He was there joined by the Duke of Mayenne, with ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse, and received a defiance from Henry to put an end to the calamities of war by a decisive action; but the sole object of Farnese was to relieve the Parisians, and he determined to accomplish it, if possible, without hazarding a general engagement; to the challenge of his adversary he coldly replied, that he was accustomed to fight only when he thought proper himself; and by a series of skilful operations, which eluded the vigilance, and commanded the admiration, of Henry, he stormed, within his very sight, the walls of Legni, swept away the garrisons of St. Maur and Charenton, and poured plenty into the famished capital.

After the relief of Paris, the Duke of Parma invested Corbeil; which, though defended with gallantry, was carried by assault. To sound the inclinations of the Catholic leaders towards the King of Spain, he proposed to garrison it with his Walloon or Italian troops; but the offer was rejected with indignation by the Duke of Mayenne
and

and his confederates ; and the manner of their refusal clearly discovered their jealousy and suspicion of Philip. It confirmed Farnese in his opinion, that the moment was not arrived of avowing the ambitious pretensions of his sovereign; and it determined him, notwithstanding the importunities of the chiefs of the league, to return into the Netherlands, and to leave the contending parties to exhaust their strength in mutual animosity, in hopes their weakness would deliver them hereafter an easy prey to Spain.

In consequence of this plan, lest the Catholics might be overpowered by the superior genius of the King of France, the Duke left for their support six thousand men ; and with the rest of his forces began his retreat towards Flanders. As he was sensible that he acted under the eye of so vigilant a commander as Henry, he drew up his army in four divisions, and marched always in order of battle. The country through which he passed was each morning diligently reconnoitred by his light cavalry, and his camp each night was secured by strong intrenchments.

Nor were these precautions more than necessary ; he was followed by Henry, who, impatient to efface his disgrace before Lagni and Paris, continually hovered round, and harassed the forces of Spain. The length of the march, the badness of the roads, and the advanced season of the year, all

to second his attempts, and to increase the distress of the Duke; but every obstacle gave way before the prudence and skill of the latter, and without any considerable loss, he conducted his troops into the province of Hainault.

A. D. 1591, He had there the mortification to find that the evils which he had predicted from his absence, had been too faithfully verified. The troops that he had left in the Low Countries had degenerated from their ancient discipline; they had renewed their clamours for their arrears; and while the united states had breathed from their dissensions, and their forces had overrun the fertile provinces of Brabant and Flanders, the important towns of Zutphen and Deventer were successively reduced by Maurice; in a skirmish on the banks of the Waal, the Spanish cavalry were defeated in the presence of Farnese himself; and the strong cities of Hulst and Nimeguen were compelled to capitulate; instead of being able to check the career of the enemy, the declining health of the duke had obliged him again to have recourse to the waters of Spa; and he had scarce returned, before the distress of the league, and the orders of Philip, exposed him, with a broken constitution, and a shattered army, to contend with Henry the Fourth, followed by the chivalry of France.

That monarch, with thirty thousand horse and foot, had laid siege to Rouen, the capital of Normandy.

mandy. The city was defended with the highest intrepidity and skill, by the Sieur de Villars, but there was little probability that he would be long able to resist so formidable a force directed by so able a commander as Henry : the Duke of Mayenne, alarmed at the danger, solicited the assistance of the King of Spain, and the Prince of Parma was again commanded to enter France, and to endeavour to preserve Rouen.

He began his march about the middle of December, and his army, when joined by that of the Duke of Mayenne, might consist of twenty-five thousand infantry, and six thousand cavalry.— Henry, informed of his approach, and unwilling to relinquish his hopes of a city, which he daily expected would capitulate, left his foot to prosecute the siege, and with his horse advanced to retard the progress of the duke ; his ardour on this occasion precipitated him into a danger the most lively and imminent ; with four hundred men, near Aumale, he fell in with, and engaged the van of the Spaniards ; he himself was wounded ; the greatest part of his followers killed ; nor could he have escaped, had not Farnese, suspicious of an ambuscade, called off his troops from the pursuit.

The forces of the confederates, though incessantly harassed and repeatedly attacked, had now penetrated within two days march of Rouen, when

they were surpris'd by the agreeable intelligence that the governor had availed himself of the absence of the king, had sallied from the town, destroyed the works, and cut in pieces great numbers of the besiegers; Marechal Biron himself, who commanded, was wounded, and Villars, who aspired to the glory of raising the siege without the assistance of the Spaniards, added, that if his garrison was reinforced, he expected to defend the town for several months longer. Though the Prince of Parma was of opinion that he still ought to pursue his march, and attack the royalists before they had recovered from their confusion, yet he yielded to the counsels of the Duke of Mayenne, and after detaching eight hundred chosen men to Rouen, he turned aside into Picardy, and invested St. Esprit de Rue.

A. D. 1592. The king himself was no sooner informed of this resolution than he returned to press the siege of Rouen with redoubled vigour. The loss that he had sustained was amply supplied by cannon and ammunition from the states of Holland, and Villars, in a few weeks, reduced to distress, was again compelled to implore the relief of the Prince of Parma. That general immediately relinquished the siege of St. Esprit de Rue, and rapidly pressed forwards towards Rouen. Though Henry could not conceal his mortification at being thus obliged twice to abandon a place which he had

had daily expected to occupy, yet conscious of the inferior numbers of his own army, he retired from the inauspicious walls, and waited at Pont de l'Arche the return of his nobility; who, on the former occasion, seeing no immediate prospect of a battle, had left his camp, and withdrawn to their respective provinces.

The Prince of Parma, after entering Rouen in triumph, led his army against Caudbec, the reduction of which was thought necessary to complete the deliverance of the former city; but as he marked in person the ground for the batteries, he received a wound in his arm from a musket ball. A fever attended the wound; and he scarce on his recovery had possessed himself of Caudbec, before he was sensible that his own army was exposed to a greater danger than that from which he had relieved the citizens of Rouen. Caudbec is situated in the peninsula Caux, formed by the Seine on the west, and the river d'Eu on the north and east; and the king was no sooner informed that the prince had committed his forces within the narrow limits of Caux, than he prepared to efface by a signal revenge the memory of his former disappointments. The nobility at his summons had repaired with alacrity to his standard; his army by their ready appearance was increased to seventeen thousand foot and eight thousand horse. He already possessed the towns of Eu, Arques, and Dieppe, which

which commanded the eastern entrance into the peninsula; and after several sharp encounters, he occupied the defiles to the south by which the Spaniards had entered. With more than usual precaution he fortified his camp against the despair of the enemy; and the Prince of Parma's health no sooner enabled him to reconnoitre the position of the royalists, than he was convinced no other expedient remained than to transport his troops across the Seine. To pass the broad and rapid stream of that river, with so considerable an army incumbered with artillery and baggage, and in sight of a vigilant and powerful adversary, appeared to the Duke of Mayenne and the most experienced officers utterly impracticable; but no difficulties could depress the bold and inventive genius of the Prince of Parma. He collected from Rouen a number of boats and rafts; he cleared by his cannon the Seine of the Dutch ships which occupied it; he availed himself of the rising grounds between him and the royalists, which screened his motions from the sight of Henry; he seized the favourable moment of a thick mist, and while his cavalry threatened a serious attack on the works of the enemy, his infantry, with the artillery and baggage, safely crossed the river; they were rapidly followed by the horse; and the rear was secured from loss or insult by two batteries which he had judiciously erected.

Henry

A. D. 1592. Henry had, for several days, flattered himself with the most sanguine hopes of obtaining a decisive victory, and his mortification was in proportion to the confidence of his expectations. He was confessedly vanquished by the superior skill of his adversary; who, after possessing himself, in his retreat, of Epernai, pursued his march without interruption, to the Netherlands. But there the prospect on every side was dark and menacing; in proportion as his finances were exhausted, the spirit of revolt daily gained ground among his own troops; while his enemies acted with increase of vigour and unanimity, and Maurice had extended his renown by the acquisition of the towns of Steenwick and Coverden. Disease, with disappointment, pressed upon his sinking frame; and he solicited permission to retire from a station to which his strength was no longer equal. But Philip was too sensible of his abilities to indulge his request; he ordered him once more to march to the support of the league; and the duke prepared to obey; but the fatigues of fourteen successive campaigns had totally undermined his constitution; the wound which he had received before Caudbec had never properly healed; and while he applied himself, with his wonted assiduity, to hasten the necessary levies for his expedition, his death deprived the King of Spain of a general, whose valour, vigilance, and sagacity, had re-
united

united to his crown great part of the Netherlands; and delivered the states and the King of France from an adversary, whose splendid military talents had so often baffled their best concerted enterprises.

Insensible as Philip was to the emotions of a man, as a sovereign he could not but feel the loss of the Duke of Parma; that illustrious chief had expired when his counsels were most necessary; not only the distracted state of the Netherlands, and the prospect of the French throne, demanded the vigour and penetration of Farnese, but a spark of freedom had survived in the mountains of Arragon. Love had inflamed, without softening, the heart of Philip; and the same jealousy that distinguished him in his public conduct, accompanied him in private life: he had engaged in an intrigue with Anna Mendoza, Princess of Eboli; those favours which he extorted by his authority, or purchased by his wealth, were freely granted to his secretary Antonio Perez; the latter had been his instrument in the assassination of Escovedo, the confidant of Don John of Austria; and with the private countenance of Philip, who was informed of the partiality of the Princess, a prosecution was commenced against him by the children and widow of Escovedo; he was thrown into prison, but by the assistance of his wife, he eluded the vigilance of his guards, and fled to Arragon, his native country, where he expected to avail himself of the peculiar

culiar privileges of the Arragonefe. On his arrival at Saragoffa, he appealed to the Juftiza, and was affured of his protection, and an impartial trial before his tribunal.

But the resentment of the King was not to be restrained by the pretensions of that Judge. At his command, the Marquis of Almenar broke into the prifon where Perez was confined, and carried him off. The people, who had ever been accuftomed to hold the perfon and authority of the Juftiza in the higheft veneration, were inflamed with rage at this indignity; and having rifen tumultuously, they refcued Perez from the inquisitors, furrounded the Marquis of Almenar, and after reviling him as a traitor to the liberty of his country, maltreated him in fuch a manner, that he died foon afterwards of his wounds.

Perez was again lodged in the prifon of ftate, and remained there for feveral months, during which time the governor, or viceroy, ordered thirteen of the principal lawyers of Saragoffa to examine whether the caufe belonged more properly to the Juftiza, or to the court of inquisition. After long deliberation, they declared, that it would be a violation of the liberties of Arragon, if Perez were tried by any other judge than the Juftiza; but afterwards, being either corrupted or intimidated, they reverfed this fentence, under the pretence of the prifoner's having held a fecret correpondence
with

with the King of France, a heretic, and pronounced that it belonged to the inquisition to take cognisance of his cause.

The Justiza paid no regard to this opinion of the lawyers, but persisted in defending the privileges of his office, and in refusing to deliver up the prisoner. The viceroy had recourse to force; and having drawn together a great number of the familiars of the inquisition, he broke open the state prison, loaded Perez with chains, and was carrying him off in a triumph, when the people arose a second time, and set him at liberty. He immediately left the town, and made his escape into France, where he gave useful information to the king with regard to the designs and measures of the court of Spain.

Philip in the mean time resolved not to neglect the opportunity which this sedition of the Arragonians afforded him, to shew how little he regarded those rights and privileges of which they had shewn themselves so tenacious. Having formed an army of the troops which were quartered in different parts of Castile, he gave the command of it to Alphonso Vargas; with instructions to march to Saragossa with the utmost expedition; and to prevent the Arragonese from preparing for resistance, he gave out that this army was intended to assist the Catholics in France. The Arragonese, however, having received certain intelligence of his design,

3 began

began to prepare for their defence. Lanusa, the Justiza, having convened the principal inhabitants, and read to them a fundamental law of their constitution, by which it is declared, that they have a right to oppose by force the entrance of foreign troops into Arragon, even though the king himself should lead them, it was decreed with unanimous consent, that conformably to this law they should take up arms on the present occasion, to prevent the entrance of the Castilians under Vargas.

Intimation of this decree was sent to the other cities of the province, and the inhabitants of Saragossa repaired in great numbers to the standard of liberty that was erected. But they had no leader of sufficient capacity to conduct them, and there was no time for the people in other places to come to their assistance. Vargas having arrived much sooner than they expected, they were overwhelmed with terror, and threw down their arms.

Vargas entered the city without opposition, and cast such of their leaders as had not made their escape into prison. Among these were the Duke de Villa Hermosa, the Count of Aranda, and the Justiza. The two first he sent prisoners to Madrid, but he put the Justiza publicly to death without either trial or sentence, and then confiscated his effects, and levelled his houses with the ground; ordering proclamation to be made in the city, that
such

such should be the punishment of all those who, like Lanusa, should presume to dispute the authority of the king.

The people heard this insulting proclamation with unspeakable grief and indignation ; but they were obliged to lament in secret the ruin of those invaluable rights which they were unable to defend. The palace of the inquisition was fortified, that it might serve the purpose of a citadel ; and a strong body of Castilian troops were quartered there and in the town, where they remained till the minds of the citizens were thoroughly subdued.

But the contempt of Philip spared the exterior of government ; nor did he abolish the forms of a constitution, which he had thus instructed his subjects, was a feeble barrier against the encroachments of regal power.

A. D. 1592. This hasty spark of civil commotion
1593. did not divert the attention of Philip from the affairs of France. On the decease of the Duke of Parma, the government of the Netherlands was committed to count Peter Ernest of Mansfeldt, whose son Charles led a Spanish army of seven thousand veteran soldiers to the support of the league ; and after, in conjunction with the Duke of Mayenne, reducing Noyon, returned to Flanders.

A. D. 1593. Philip had hitherto lavished his treasures and the blood of his subjects to keep alive the
flame

flame of war in France; but the progress of his arms had yet been attended with no permanent advantage, and he now endeavoured by negotiation to secure in his family the crown, the object of his ambition. His importunity had prevailed on the Duke of Mayenne to assemble the states at Paris, and the Duke of Feria, the Spanish ambassador, endeavoured to persuade the deputies to place Isabella, the daughter of his royal master, on the throne. Though even the most bigoted Catholics abhorred a measure which must have rendered France in fact a province of Spain, yet conscious they were unable to contend with Henry, unless supported by Philip, they studiously concealed their aversion, and expressed an affected solicitude in regard to the person whom the latter prince might name for his daughter's consort. The archduke of Austria they unanimously rejected, and declared that they never would submit to her union with a foreign prince. The young Duke of Guise, the next object of Philip's choice, was endeared to them by the name and popularity of his father; but the Duke of Mayenne beheld with secret disgust his nephew preferred before his son; while outwardly he professed the highest satisfaction at the proposal, he privately determined to traverse it; and insisted, both for the honour of the King of Spain and for the safety of the Duke of Guise, that the election of Isabella should be deferred till

an army was assembled sufficient to overwhelm her enemies, and to firmly establish her on the throne.

But while the King of Spain and the Catholic chiefs were bewildered in an endless labyrinth of negotiation, both were surprised by an event as important as it was unexpected. Henry had beheld with anxiety the assembly of the states, and dreaded the intrigues of the Duke of Mayenne with the court of Spain. He perceived the religious prejudices of the Catholics were confirmed by a series of long and bloody hostilities; and he resolved to consult the happiness of his subjects, and to relinquish a faith which he could only maintain amidst scenes of slaughter and devastation. In consequence of this determination, he invited the Catholic divines to instruct him in their religion; and after being present at several conferences, he professed himself satisfied with their arguments, read at St. Denys his confession of the Catholic faith, and declared his resolution constantly to defend it.

The King of Spain and the Duke of Mayenne, instead of abandoning their intrigues, on this event resumed them with redoubled ardour. Philip ordered his ministers to acquaint the latter, that on mature consideration he had changed his intention, and instead of the Duke of Guise, was determined to bestow the hand of his daughter Isabella on his son.

son. In consequence of this declaration, a negotiation which Mayenne had begun for reconciling himself to the king, was broken off. That powerful leader and the Spaniards were henceforth on more amicable terms; and there was no longer any reason to doubt, that in future he would exert himself with vigour in promoting their designs.

But there was much less probability at the present than any former period, that these designs would ever be accomplished. Philip had no general after the Duke of Parma's death, qualified to enter the lists with the King of France. His treasury was exhausted, and even his credit was reduced so low, that the Genoese, and other Italian merchants, from whom he had already borrowed several millions of money, refused to lend him any more. His commanders in the Netherlands had not been able to make the necessary levies. His troops there were fewer in number than they had ever been since the commencement of the war; and yet so great arrears were due to them, that the officers found it impracticable to maintain their authority. The greatest part of the Spanish soldiers in the Low Countries had, upon their return from France, forsaken their standards; and having elected officers, and a commander in chief from among themselves, they had begun to exercise the most oppressive rapacity upon the inhabitants of the southern provinces.

The example of the Spaniards was quickly followed by the Italians and Walloons. The people in the open country were plundered in the most unmerciful manner. Those dreadful scenes of devastation were renewed, which had been acted after the death of Requesens; and the Flemings had never suffered so much from the enemy, as they now suffered from troops engaged to protect and defend them.

Maurice, in the mean time, exerted himself with his wonted activity; he laid siege to Gertrudenberg, and carried it, in the presence of Count Mansveldt; while the latter, after a fruitless attempt on Creveceur, resigned the government of the provinces, to Ernest archduke of Austria; and marched to the support of the Duke of Mayenne.

A. D. 1594. He arrived only to be convinced how vain were the hopes which Philip entertained of France. Paris had opened her gates to Henry; the different cities and provinces followed rapidly the example of the capital; and though Mansveldt, in conjunction with the army of the league, reduced the town of la Capelle, he had the mortification of witnessing the loss of Laon, which, after a long resistance, surrendered to Henry.

While the flower of his troops were engaged in France, the archduke was condemned to be an inactive spectator of the progress of Maurice; he had at first fondly flattered himself with prevailing

on the revolted provinces to return to their obedience by argument and persuasion. But the answer of the states, that they would lay down their lives sooner than again submit to the yoke from which they had been delivered, put an end to all negotiation. His modest and gentle disposition ill fitted him for the turbulence of a camp ; he neither could resist the arms of the enemy, nor curb the arrogance of his own soldiers. The important city of Groningen was taken by Maurice ; and in Brabant the Walloon and Spanish troops broke out into a furious mutiny, spread themselves over the country, nor would acknowledge the authority of their officers, until a nobleman of high rank was delivered to them as an hostage for the payment of their arrears.

A. D. 1594, The delicate constitution of Ernest
1595. yielded to the pressure of incessant care and disappointment ; he expired ; and the appointment of his successor, the Count of Fuentes, by birth a Castilian, was strongly resented by the Flemish nobles ; the Duke of Arschot, and the Count of Mansveldt, refused to serve under a foreigner, whose promotion was a tacit censure on their fidelity and abilities. Yet Fuentes merited the confidence of his sovereign, and extorted the applause of his competitors. While the constable Velasco, waged a feeble war within the limits of Burgundy, Fuentes penetrated into Picardy, re-

duced Catelet, defeated the French under Villars, and carried Dourlens by assault. He next invested Cambray, which acknowledged the authority of Balagny, a French officer, who, amidst the distraction of the times, had acquired the sovereignty of that city, and held it as a fief of France. But before Henry could march to the succour of his vassal, the transient sovereignty of Balagny was no more; the inhabitants, disgusted with his insolence, had seconded the arms of the Spaniards, and opened their gates to the assailants; the garrison in the castle might have continued a successful resistance; but they were compelled to surrender for want of provisions; and Cambray was re-annexed to the dominions of Spain.

A. D. 1595, Even in the Netherlands the drooping fortunes of Philip seemed to revive beneath the influence of Fuentes. The experienced Mondragon, whom he had left to command during his absence on the banks of the Lippe, surrounded and put to the sword a body of horse, under Count Philip of Nassau. These various advantages did not however divert the King of Spain from transferring the administration of the provinces to a younger branch of the house of Austria. And the archduke Albert, who had early been destined for the church, and had been invested with the dignity of Cardinal, was removed from the government of Portugal to that of the Netherlands.

Netherlands. He was accompanied to Brússels by the Count of Buren, the eldest son of the late Prince of Orange ; the policy of Philip broke at length the captivity in which that nobleman had been so long detained ; he flattered himself that his pretensions might divide the influence of the house of Nassau ; but the danger was averted by the prudence and justice of Maurice, who instantly relinquished to his eldest brother all that he possessed of their father's fortune ; and the Count of Buren, by education strongly attached to the Catholic religion, and by nature void of ambition, passed the rest of his life in tranquil and blameless obscurity.

After so brilliant an administration as that of Fuentes, it was necessary for Albert to exert himself with vigour, that his reputation might not suffer from a comparison with that of his predecessor. The league was no more ; the Duke of Mayenne had reconciled himself to his sovereign. La Fere, a strong town in Picardy, which had been delivered by the Catholics to the Duke of Parma, was closely invested by Henry ; and the archduke abandoning the impracticable design of relieving it, hoped to compensate the loss by the reduction of some other place. The sieur de Roné, a native of France, and a zealous officer of the league, who had been refused by Henry the rank of mareschal, represented the defenceless state of Calais, and urged the archduke to aspire to that important ac-

quisition. Albert yielded to his suggestions, and intrusted the conduct of the enterprize to de Roné himself, whose bold and active genius, and distinguished skill in war, eminently qualified him for the undertaking.

To deceive Henry, the archduke still affected to meditate the relief of La Fere, and began his march towards that place, while de Roné suddenly turned to Calais with a body of select troops, and possessed himself, after a faint resistance, of the two forts which commanded the entrance of the town and the harbour. He was quickly followed by Albert and his whole army; the superior numbers of the Spaniards soon penetrated into the suburbs and occupied the town; and the castle alone resisted the arms of the besiegers. To reinforce the garrison of that fortress, Matalet, governor of Foix, had opened a passage for himself and three hundred companions through the lines of the enemy. But even this additional force was not capable of withstanding the attacks of the Spaniards; and Henry endured the mortification of beholding the banners of Spain displayed from the citadel of Calais, at the moment that he had advanced from La Fere at the head of his cavalry to the support of the besieged.

Henry immediately returned to press the siege of La Fere, while the archduke, after repairing the fortifications of Calais, led his troops against
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the town of Ardres. The strength of that place, it was reasonably expected, might have resisted the arms of the Spaniards till La Fere had surrendered; and the garrison at first displayed their valour in repeated and vigorous sallies; but no sooner had the troops of Spain possessed themselves of the suburbs, than the Marquis of Belin, who commanded in Ardres, basely yielding to his fears, proposed to his officers to capitulate. Though the proposal was rejected with disdain by the majority of the council, yet the Marquis, availing himself of his superior authority, offered to open his gates on condition that the garrison should march out with the honours of war; Albert readily agreed; and the capitulation was signed the day that preceded the surrender of La Fere.

The approach of Henry checked the career of Albert; unwilling to hazard a decisive engagement with so able a commander, after placing strong garrisons in the towns he had taken, he retired from the territories of France. But he suffered not the rest of the season to pass in indolence. On an island formed by the junction of two broad canals, Hulst had acquired by art whatever advantages could be imparted by nature; three thousand veterans defended the fortifications, which had been repaired and augmented under the inspection of Prince Maurice; yet excited by de Roné, and other ad-
venturous

venturous spirits, Albert despised every difficulty, and after distracting the attention of the states, by menacing Gertrudenberg, and Breda, he rapidly directed his march towards Hulst. A detachment of his troops passed in silence the canals, occupied the island, and compelled the garrison to take shelter within the walls of the town; the main body soon followed, and commenced the operations of the siege; the only expedient which remained to the states, was to introduce supplies into the town by one of the canals, the mouth of which was commanded by a fort, on the strength of which they depended; for this purpose, Maurice fixed his residence at Cruning in Zealand; and frequently conveyed assistance to the besieged, notwithstanding the vigilance of the Spaniards.

The siege and the defence were conducted with equal vigour, and the combatants on both sides gave innumerable proofs of their courage. The garrison under their governor, Count Solmes, sallied out almost every day, and made dreadful havoc amongst the Spaniards. De Roné, to whom the chief conduct of the siege had been committed, was killed; and his loss was severely felt by the assailants. The archduke, however, persisted in the enterprise; and though he had already lost a greater number of his troops than in the sieges both of Calais and Ardres, he continued his operations with such incessant ardour, that the outworks were to-

tally demolished, and a breach made in the inner wall.

Behind the breach, the labour of the garrison had cut a deep trench, and as through the seasonable supplies introduced by Maurice, they were still as numerous as ever, their condition was far from desperate. But they were seized with a panic; they urged the governor with loud clamours to capitulate; and Count Solmes, apprehensive that they would deliver up the town without his consent, thought it prudent to yield to their importunities.

Albert staid no longer in Hulst than was necessary to direct the reparation of the works; he returned to Brussels, amidst the joyful acclamations of the inhabitants, who, from this commencement of his administration, flattered themselves with the hopes of the most splendid success. But their joy was of short duration. On the retreat of the archduke from Picardy, Mareschal Biron, with six thousand select troops had broken into the province of Artois, and spread the terror of his arms along the southern frontier of the Netherlands. After the reduction of Hulst, Albert had detached the Marquis of Varembois, with a considerable body of forces, to check the destructive progress of the French. Biron, informed that the Marquis was on his march to offer him battle, advanced rapidly to meet him; his skillful evolutions confounded
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and vanquished his antagonist. The Spaniards, deluded into an ambuscade, were routed with fatal slaughter; and Varembon himself became a captive to the French. The young Duke d'Arfehott, who was appointed to succeed him, and to restore the honour of the Spanish arms, although he avoided the fate of his predecessor, was reduced to remain a spectator of the destruction of the country, which the cavalry of Biron continued to insult and ravage, until the approach of winter compelled them to retire.

It was not only in the Low Countries, that the subjects of Philip were exposed to the calamities of war. Ever since the defeat of the Armada, the King of Spain had been intent on vengeance; at Calais he had assembled a respectable fleet, and collected a considerable quantity of naval and military stores; and it was his intention to invade Ireland, where he had long fomented the rebellious spirit of the Catholic inhabitants, and had reason to believe that they would join his troops as soon as they should land.

Elizabeth was aware of the impending danger, and determined, if possible, to dissipate the storm before it could approach. For this purpose she fitted out a fleet of more than a hundred and fifty ships, having about eight thousand soldiers and seven thousand mariners on board, and gave the command of the land forces to the Earl of Essex, and

and that of the naval to Lord Howard of Effingham. To this fleet the Dutch added twenty-four ships, with a proportional number of troops, under the command of Wardmont, Vice-Admiral of Holland, and Count Lewis of Nassau, cousin to Prince Maurice.

With this powerful armament, Elizabeth intended to make an attack on Cadiz, where Philip's naval preparations were principally carried on. But its destination was carefully concealed. Sealed instructions were delivered to the several commanders, not to be opened till they should arrive at Cape St. Vincent's; and they were ordered, in their way thither, to keep at a distance from the coasts of Spain and Portugal, in order to prevent a discovery of their design.

These precautions served effectually the purpose which was intended. The whole fleet arrived on the twentieth of June within sight of Cadiz, and found the Spaniards entirely unprepared for their defence. There were in the bay and harbour, besides thirty-six merchant ships richly laden, and ready to sail for America and the Indies, a fleet of about thirty ships of war, and a great number of transports loaded with naval stores, designed for the equipment of another fleet, which Philip was then fitting out at Lisbon. But there was no person in the place invested with the chief command,

mand, and no garrison in it sufficient for its defence.

The Spanish men of war, however, were quickly drawn up in the mouth of the bay, and they sustained the attack of an enemy so much superior to them, for several hours, till some of their largest ships were taken, others burnt, and the rest driven a-ground on the flats and shallows.

Immediately after this success, the Earl of Essex landed his troops, and led them towards the town. A body of Spanish forces marched out to meet him; but being unable to withstand the impetuosity of the English, they soon turned their backs and fled. The English pursued, and entered the town along with them. The inhabitants, who were thrown into the most dreadful consternation, made a feeble resistance, and the castle surrendered before the English artillery had begun to fire. Essex discovered no less humanity after his victory, than bravery in acquiring it. The town indeed was given up to be plundered by the soldiers, but no cruelty or outrage, such as occurs so often in the history of the Netherlands, was permitted to be exercised. The booty was immense, and would have been much greater, if, while the commanders were treating with some of the principal merchants about a ransom for the merchant ships, the Duke de Medina, who lay with some troops near the

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the town, had not given orders for setting them on fire. It was computed that, in military and naval stores, merchant goods, and ships, the loss which Philip and his subjects sustained on this occasion, could not amount to less than twenty millions of ducats. Had the advice of the Earl of Effex been followed, the English would have attempted to retain possession of the town, but Lord Howard and the other commanders regarded his proposal as chimerical. They believed that they had already fulfilled the queen's intentions: they dreaded the approach of a Spanish army, and therefore they made haste to put their plunder on board their ships, and immediately set sail for England.

The affront which Philip received on this occasion, in having one of his capital towns sacked and plundered, constituted a considerable part of his calamity, as it lessened exceedingly the opinion entertained of his prudence, as well as of his internal strength. This consideration, joined to an impatient desire of taking vengeance on Elizabeth, determined him, without regard to the approach of winter, to carry his plan of invading Ireland into immediate execution. By the arrival of his Plate fleet from America, he was enabled to equip in Lisbon and other places a hundred and twenty-eight ships of war and transports, with fourteen thousand troops on board, besides a great number of Irish Catholics, and a prodigious quantity of military

military stores, and materials and instruments for building forts. This fleet, under the command of Don Martin de Padilla, set sail from Ferrol in the month of November; and if it had reached the destined port, the Spaniards, with the assistance of the Popish inhabitants, must have acquired so firm an establishment in Ireland, as would have cost the English many years, and much expence of labour and blood, to dispossess them.

Elizabeth and her subjects, flushed with their success at Cadiz, were as secure as if the wound which they had lately inflicted on Philip's naval power had been mortal. They had no suspicion of his design, and were entirely ignorant of his preparations; but providence interposed remarkably on this occasion, as it had done formerly, in their behalf. The Spanish fleet was overtaken by a storm off Cape Finisterre, and about forty ships, with their crews and stores, were lost. Padilla got ack with difficulty to Ferrol; and henceforth all thoughts of the intended enterprise were laid aside.

A. D. 1597. In the Netherlands, the campaign opened with events not less disastrous; near Turnhout, five thousand Spanish troops, under the command of the Count de Vares, found themselves opposed to the same number of the confederates, conducted by Prince Maurice; but if the hostile armies were equal in strength, they were far from
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being so in the capacity of their leaders; Vares acknowledged the superior genius of his adversary, and endeavoured to shun the encounter; the Spanish veterans at first obeyed the signal of retreat with indignation; but they soon caught the infection of terror from their general; and were already vanquished by their own apprehensions, when the enemy appeared in sight. They scarce resisted the first charge; Vares himself, amidst confusion and dismay, fought with a determined valour, which plainly evinced that his misconduct had not originated from want of personal courage, but from the consciousness of his own inexperience; he was oppressed and slain; and the victory of Maurice was rendered decisive by the slaughter of above two thousand Spaniards.

But in France, the fortune of Philip seemed still to prevail. Amiens, the capital of Picardy, had lately submitted to her natural sovereign, and the citizens, with their ancient privileges, had obtained an exemption from being garrisoned by regular troops. Their subsequent conduct proved how unworthy they were of the honourable trust reposed in them. Of fifteen thousand inhabitants who were enrolled, only a few were employed as sentinels and guards, and even those performed their duty in the most remiss manner. Their negligence had not escaped the knowledge of Portocarrero, governor of Dourlens, an officer brave

and enterprising, and who, encouraged by the vicinity of his situation, planned a scheme for surprising Amiens. With three thousand horse and foot he marched from Dourlens, and, concealed by the darkness of the night, reached at dawn an hermitage about a quarter of a mile from the capital of Picardy. Twelve of his most resolute soldiers, disguised as peasants, and with arms beneath their frocks, were sent forwards as soon as the gates of the city were opened; some nuts which they carried, and affected accidentally to spill, amused the guards; a waggon which they had driven, and intentionally stopt in the gateway, prevented the portcullis from being let down; they fell with fury on the astonished sentinels, were soon supported by Portocarrero and his troops, who rushed forwards to join them; and after a feeble resistance, and a slaughter of about an hundred citizens, Amiens submitted to the arms of the Spaniards.

The loss of a city so strong, so well provided, and so near to Paris, struck Henry with consternation; Calais, one of his principal sea-ports, was already in the possession of the Spaniards, and by their present conquest, they might extend their incursions to the very gates of his capital. Though labouring under a severe indisposition, he renounced the care of his person, to provide for the defence of his kingdom. His efforts were seconded by a
gallant

gallant nobility, and by the friendship of Elizabeth, who reinforced his army with four thousand English; Amiens was invested on every side; yet although the besiegers carried on their operations with redoubled ardour and alacrity, the garrison disputed each inch of ground with incredible obstinacy; the death of Portocarrero, who fell in a desperate sally, diminished not their confidence; and the defence was conducted with the same skill and spirit as before by the Marquis of Montenegro.

Philip was too sensible of the inequality of the contest to hope that Amiens, without assistance, could finally resist the arms of Henry; he had exerted himself with more than usual activity in preparations to raise the siege; but the destruction of his fleet and stores at Cadiz had contributed to increase the disorder that had long prevailed in his finances; several branches of his revenue had been mortgaged to foreign merchants; and though he had dissolved the contracts, alledging as an apology the advantage that had been taken of his distress, he found his credit extinguished by this injudicious breach of faith. The bankers of Genoa and Antwerp refused to supply him; and so great were his embarrassments, that near five months elapsed before the remittances from Madrid enabled the archduke to take the field.

No sooner was Albert relieved from his pecu-

niary difficulties, than, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, he pressed forwards to the protection of Amiens; he presented himself before the French camp; but the ardour of Henry was, on this occasion, restrained by prudence, he kept within his intrenchments; and the archduke, after fruitlessly endeavouring to provoke him to action, retired to Arras, and resigned to its fate, Amiens, which soon after surrendered to the French.

A. D. 1597. But the loss of Amiens was not the
1598. only mortification that Albert was destined to experience; to form an army for that expedition, he had drained the garrisons of Flanders; and Maurice had availed himself of his absence to reduce successively Rhinberg, Meurs, Grolle, Brevort, and Lingen, and to expel the Spaniards from the northern banks of the Rhine. So many disasters opened the eyes of Philip to the vanity of those flattering dreams of conquest, by which he had been long deluded. His acquisitions in France had cost him more than they were worth; and besides the expence of making them, they were more than counterbalanced by the losses which, year after year, he had suffered in the Netherlands. His advanced age and broken health warned him of his approaching end, and he was unwilling to leave his inexperienced successor involved in a bloody and dangerous war. Peace on the
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the other hand was no less desirable to Henry, and some respite was required to close the wounds under which his kingdom had bled for so many years. The mediation of Clement, as the common father of both princes, was accepted; at the request of the Roman pontiff a congress was held by the plenipotentiaries of France and Spain at Vervins, a town in Picardy; though the Queen of England had offered Henry the most effectual support for the continuance of the war, he declined, with every profession of gratitude, a system which he declared must end in the utter ruin of his kingdom; and after several difficulties which the zeal of Clement was successfully employed in removing, Henry signed a peace, by which he relinquished, indeed, his claims on Cambray, but obtained the restitution of Calais, Ardres, Dourlens, and all the towns in France, that Philip had acquired at the expence of so much blood and treasure.

A. D. 1598. Philip had been more solicitous to put an end to the war, on account of a scheme which he had conceived, after the disappointment of his views in France, of transferring the sovereignty of the Netherlands to his eldest daughter Isabella, one of the most accomplished women of the age, whom he intended to give in marriage to the archduke; the former part of the design was opposed by the sagacity of the Count de Fuentes, who

who represented, that from the opulence of the Netherlands, those resources had been drawn, which had enabled the late Emperor to engage in such numerous and splendid enterprises. He observed, that when separated, without contributing to the support, they must necessarily prove a burden to the Spanish monarchy, since the king would be obliged to vindicate the authority of the archduke over the revolted provinces. But his salutary counsel was overborne by the obsequious arguments of the Count de Castel-Rodrigo, who had early discerned, and was vigilant to gratify the inclinations of his master. He urged that the aversion of the Flemings to the dominion of Spain was insurmountable; and that no effectual means could be devised to reclaim the provinces which had revolted, or to prevent the rest from imitating their example, but giving them a sovereign of their own. This, he added, would also disarm the jealousy of the neighbouring kingdoms, who had been inclined to prop the cause of rebellion, from their apprehension of the growing power of Spain. That apprehension once extinguished, he had no doubt the northern states would return to their union with the southern, and vie in marks of allegiance to their new prince. Philip readily was persuaded to believe what he wished; the marriage of Albert and Isabella was proclaimed at Madrid; and

and was followed by a deed of abdication, in which the king formally resigned the sovereignty of the Netherlands, and the country of Burgundy, to Isabella and her future consort ; with the provisoes, that their issue should not marry without the consent of the crown of Spain ; and in default of children, that those provinces should revert to the Spanish monarchy.

The alacrity with which the provinces of the south acknowledged their sovereigns Isabella and Albert, extended not to those of the north.—The united states rejected with contempt the dominion of the house of Austria, and prepared themselves to maintain their independence by arms.—But the death of Philip preserved him from the mortification of beholding his favourite schemes perpetually broken. An hereditary gout had long waged war on his constitution ; as he advanced in years, the violence of his disorder had increased ; several imposthumes had gathered in his breast and knees ; nor could the care of his attendants deliver him from the swarms of loathsome vermin which bred in his wounds. The Protestants insulted the sufferings of their oppressor, and in his agonies fancied they beheld the vengeance of Heaven.—But it was in the moments of his dissolution that Philip was best entitled to the admiration of his subjects. During fifty days that he languished

in the arms of death, he exhibited a striking example of patience, firmness of mind, and resignation to his fate. He evinced the sincerity of his religious profession, by practising with assiduous zeal those ceremonies which the church of Rome prescribes; and he seemed to be impressed with some regret for the former rigour of his administration, by ordering several prisoners to be released, and their effects restored.

Two days before he expired, he sent for his son, and his daughter Isabella; he discoursed to them of the vanity of human greatness, delivered to them many salutary counsels for the government of their dominions, and exhorted them, with much earnestness, to cultivate and maintain the Catholic faith. When they retired, he gave directions for his funeral; and ordered his coffin to be brought into his chamber, and placed within his view.—soon after his speech failed him, and he breathed his last on the thirteenth of September, in the seventy-second year of his age, and the forty-third of his reign.

Few characters have been more variously represented than that of Philip; while the Catholics, grateful for his incessant protection, have endeavoured to soften the ferocious features of the portrait, the Protestants, smarting from his persecution, have laboured to render every lineament more
harsh

harsh and disgusting. If we believe the latter, his reign was a long butchery of whatever was most worthy and most innocent throughout his empire; but though superstition early hardened his mind to the abuse of the despotic power he inherited; though his feelings as a parent are impeached by the end of the unhappy Carlos; though his faith and gratitude as a King and a man, are violated by the execution of the Counts of Horn and Egmont, yet Philip was not totally destitute of virtues. He was patient and vigilant; neither elated by prosperity, nor depressed by adversity; his eyes were continually opened upon every part of his extensive dominions; he entered into every branch of administration; watched over the conduct of his ministers with unwearied attention; and in his choice both of them and his generals discovered a considerable share of sagacity. To his Spanish subjects he was easy of access; he listened patiently to their complaints, and where his bigotry or lust of power interfered not, he was ever ready to redress their grievances,

But it is as the patron of the arts that Philip is chiefly entitled to our praise; and throughout his reign, the architect, the sculptor, and the painter were rewarded with royal munificence. The massy pile of the Escorial may have been cemented by the blood and treasure of his people; it may
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have been erected with greater expence than judgment ; but even envy must have allowed the taste with which it has been adorned. The favour which Charles the Fifth extended to Titian, was continued to him by his son ; and in an order from the latter to the Governor of Milan to pay the arrears of the pension that had been granted to that illustrious artist, “ You know,” says Philip, “ how much I am interested in this, as it concerns “ Titian.” Alonso Coello and Antonio Moro were not only cherished by the bounty, but were admitted into familiarity by the monarch ; the painting room of the former communicated with the royal apartments ; and Philip was a frequent visitor to his favourite artist ; to adopt the words of the descriptive author of anecdotes of the painters of Spain, “ while Coello pursued his work “ with fixed attention, and pressed his canvass in- “ to life, the King sat by, contemplating the new “ creation which the hand of art was forming in “ his sight ; and for a while, perhaps, forgot the “ breaches he had caused in that of nature’s pro- “ duction. By the easel of Coello, if he was not “ defended from the cares, he was at least secure “ from the intrusions, of royalty. In his council “ chamber the defection of provinces galled his “ pride, and the dispersion of armadas thwarted “ his ambition ; in his closet the injured Perez stung “ his

“ his conscience, and the unhappy Carlos haunted his imagination; but in the academy of Collo he saw himself in his most favourable light; and possibly the only one which can reflect a lustre on his memory.”

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